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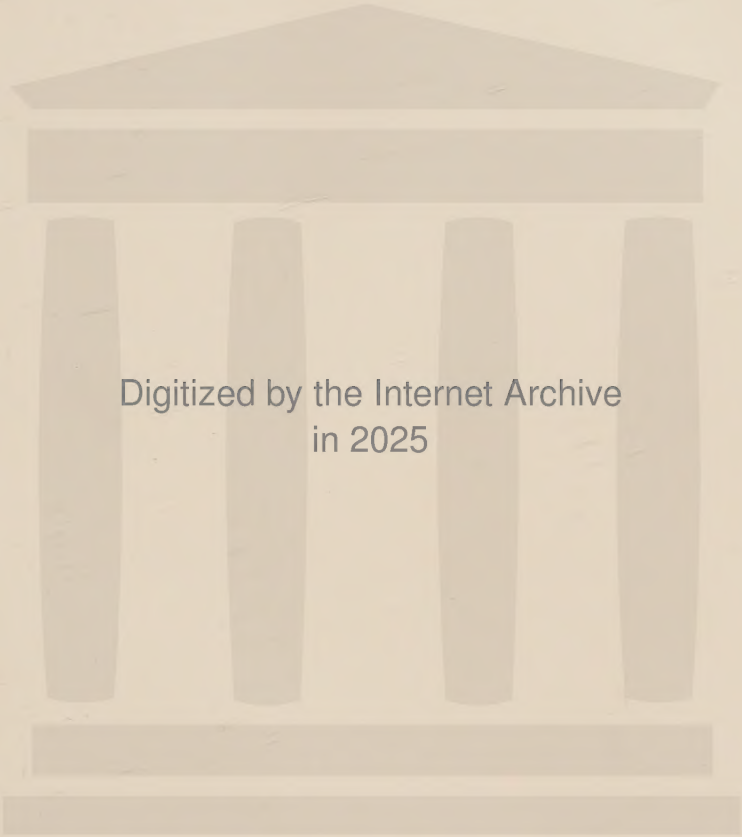

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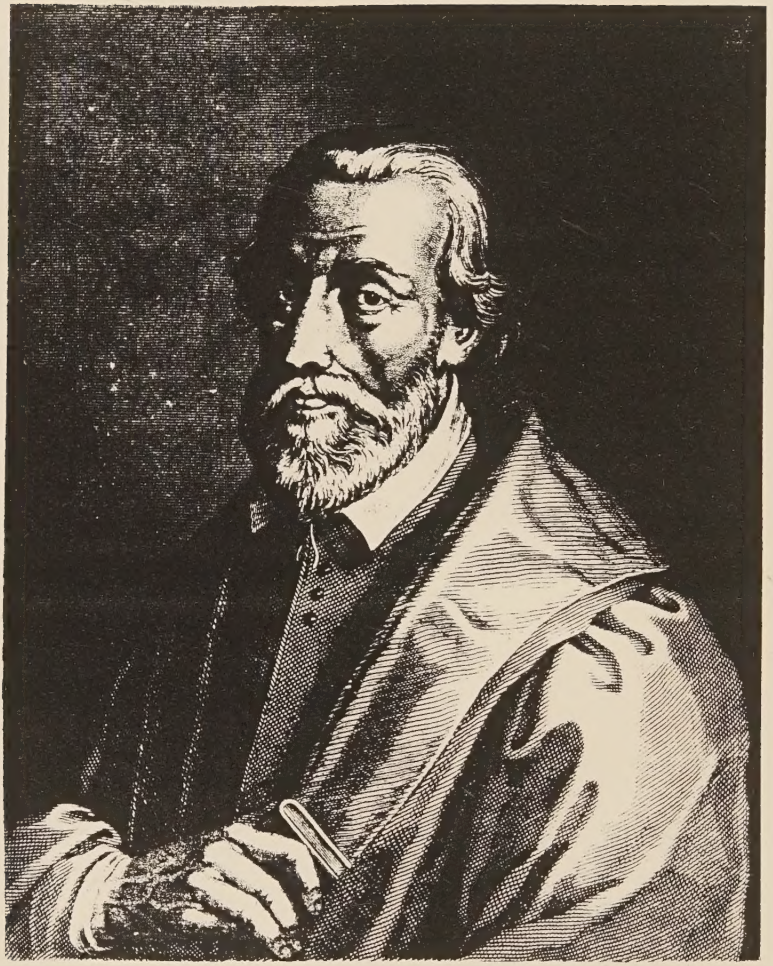


JOHN ROGERS:

THE COMPILER OF THE FIRST AUTHORISED ENGLISH BIBLE;
THE PIONEER OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION;
AND ITS FIRST MARTYR.

EMBRACING A GENEALOGICAL ACCOUNT OF HIS FAMILY,
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SOME OF HIS PRINCIPAL DESCENDANTS,
HIS OWN WRITINGS, ETC. ETC.

BY

JOSEPH LEMUEL CHESTER.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS.
1861.

TO

SIR FREDERIC ROGERS, BART.

(OF BLACHFORD, DEVON),

UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES;

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FAMILY

POSSESSING THE MOST REASONABLE CLAIMS TO A DESCENT

FROM THE MARIAN PROTO-MARTYR:

AS A SLIGHT TOKEN OF GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

FOR NUMEROUS AND UNVARYING COURTESIES AND KINDNESSES

RECEIVED FROM HIM AND HIS FAMILY,

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE history of this volume is very simple. The writer, in common with thousands of his New England brethren, was traditionally a descendant from the Marian Proto-martyr. During a protracted visit to the mother-country, he devoted a considerable time to genealogical researches, in order to establish, if possible, the correctness of these claims. Those researches have been thorough and minute, and he believes that there is little information of any value, respecting the families bearing the name of the Martyr, that can be gleaned after him, at least from accessible and responsible sources. Personally unsatisfactory as were his labours in that direction, they led him imperceptibly into another, and it was not long before he became thoroughly imbued with the conviction that historical justice had never yet been done to the person whose eventful career forms the subject of these pages. He soon discovered that the only original account concerning him, which has been received as authentic for nearly three centuries, was full of the

widest discrepancies and grossest errors. Modest and humble — unambitious of a record on the common roll of fame — actuated by higher and holier motives than the attainment of a name among men, — while he lived, he carefully avoided all appearance of ostentation, and never claimed the honours to which he was justly entitled; while, after his death, his very memory was rudely thrust aside, in order to make room for that of those of his associates who had been, indeed, his official superiors, but who, generally, were infinitely his inferiors, as well in regard to their character and attainments, as to the services which they had rendered the Church and the world. Plain John Rogers could be easily elbowed out of the works of historians, who would have described the length of his nails, and enumerated the hairs of his beard, if, as in other cases in his times, he had fortunately tumbled into a Bishopric.

The writer is aware that the claims which he has advanced in his behalf are startling, being often in direct opposition to the received accounts of him and some of his contemporaries, but he believes that, upon a careful investigation, they will not be found unwarranted. He has attempted to show, and hopes that he has done so successfully, that to John Rogers is the world indebted for the first authorised English version of the Sacred Scriptures, — the basis of every subsequent one, even that now in use; and also that, as the greatest responsibilities of the English Reformation, during the Marian persecutions, were cast upon him, repeatedly and almost invariably, and were sustained nobly and unflinchingly, he is also entitled to

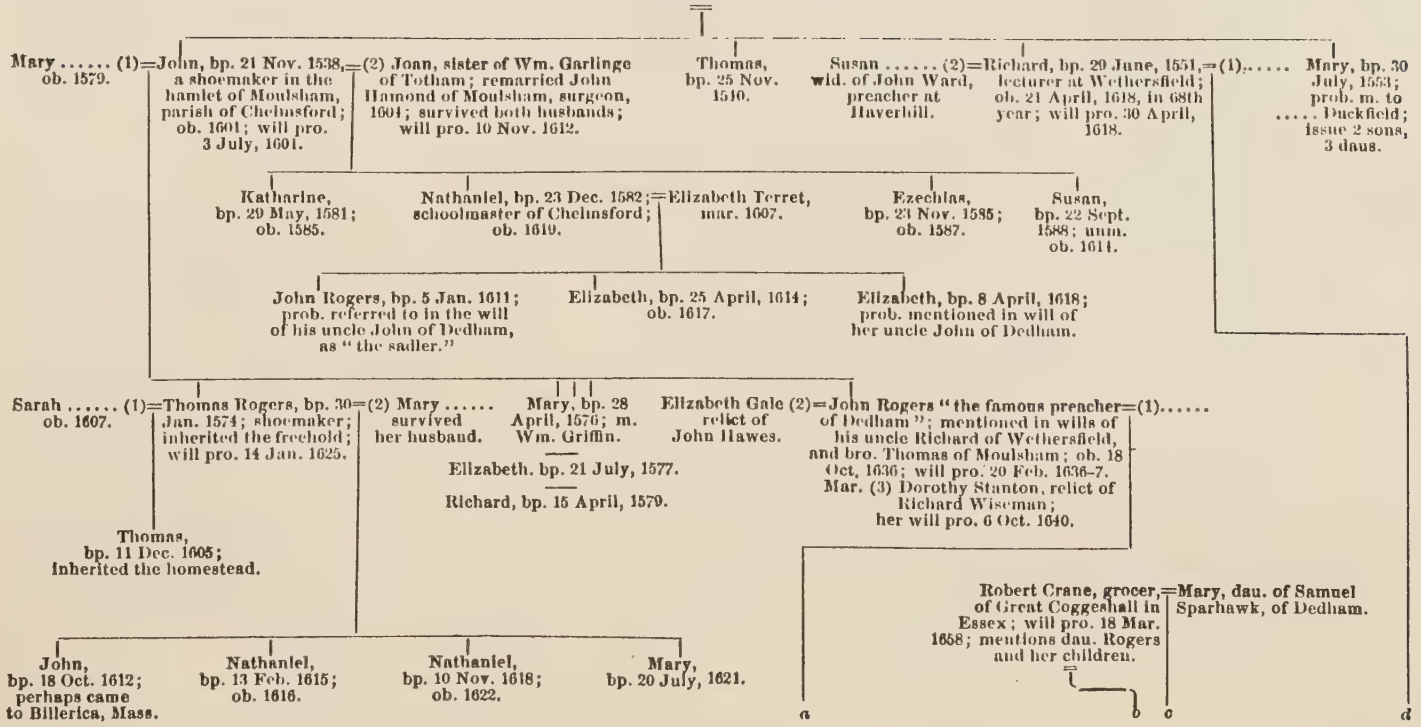
the other appellation accorded to him in the title page. If such be the case, then, history has certainly withheld from him, and awarded to others, that reverence and respect to which he is justly entitled, and which the writer has earnestly endeavoured to secure for his memory.

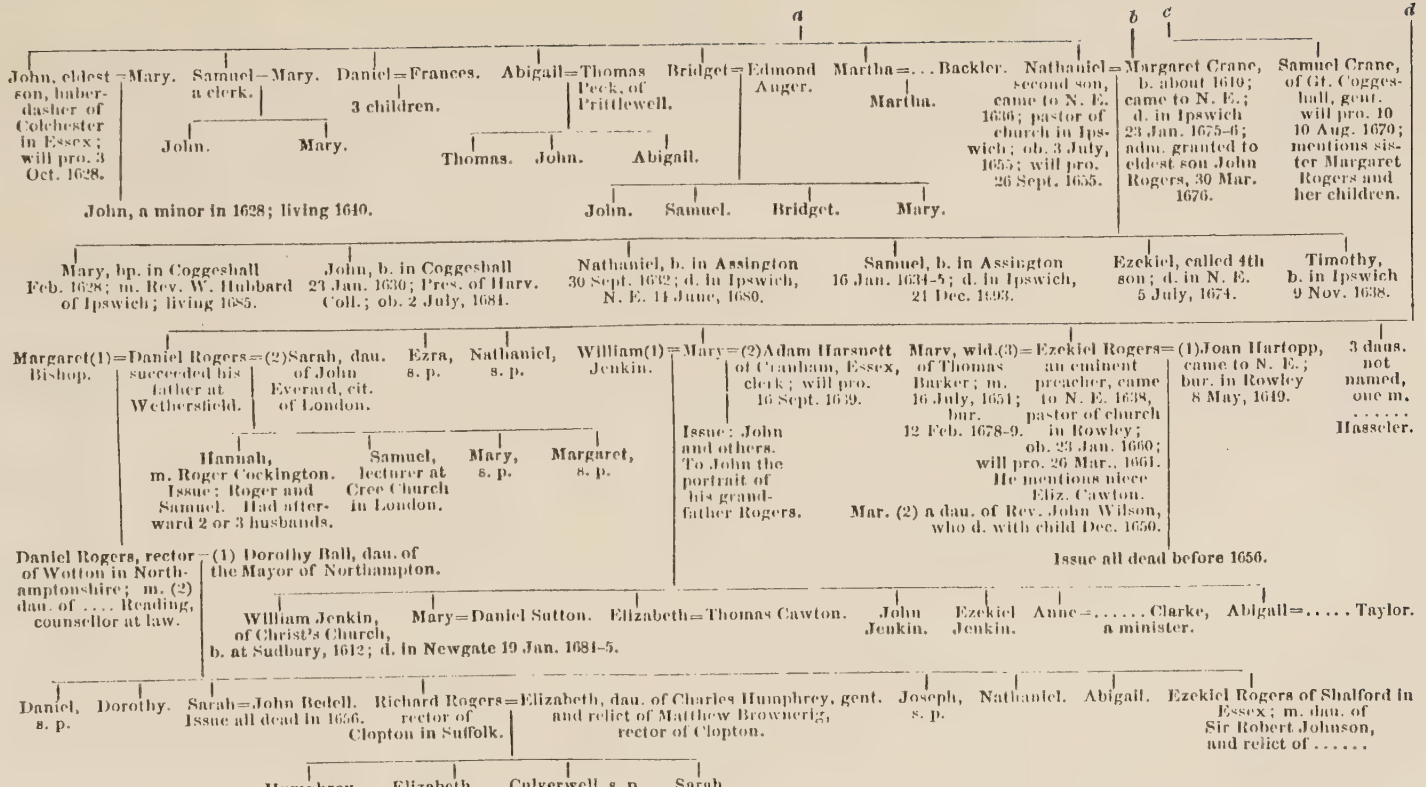
In the prosecution of his task, he has been greatly assisted and encouraged by the suggestions and counsel of various English clergymen and other gentlemen, to whom, as well as to his numerous correspondents, he desires thus generally to tender his sincere acknowledgments. It will constitute one of the happiest memories of his life, that, during the labours which the preparation of this volume involved, although a stranger in a strange land, unvarying courtesy and sympathy were extended to him by those with whom he was brought in contact, among all classes of society.

London: October 14th, 1861.

John Rogers the Younger.

OF CHELMSFORD, ESSEX.


Mary ..... (1)=John, bp. 21 Nov. 1538, a shoemaker in the hamlet of Moulsham, parish of Chelmsford; ob. 1601; will pro. 3 July, 1601.
=(2) Joan, sister of Wm. Garlinge of Totham; remarried John Hamond of Moulsham, surgeon, 1604; survived both husbands; will pro. 10 Nov. 1612.
Thomas, bp. 25 Nov. 1540.
Susan ..... (2)=Richard, bp. 29 June, 1551, lecturer at Wethersfield; ob. 21 April, 1618, in 68th year; will pro. 30 April, 1618.
=(1)..... Mary, bp. 30 July, 1553; prob. m. to ..... Duckfield; issue 2 sons, 3 daus.
Katharine, bp. 29 May, 1581; ob. 1585.
Nathaniel, bp. 23 Dec. 1582; schoolmaster of Chelmsford; ob. 1619.
=Elizabeth Terret, mar. 1607.
Ezechias, bp. 23 Nov. 1585; ob. 1587.
Susan, bp. 22 Sept. 1588; unm. ob. 1614.
John Rogers, bp. 5 Jan. 1611; prob. referred to in the will of his uncle John of Dedham, as "the sadler."
Elizabeth, bp. 25 April, 1614; ob. 1617.
Elizabeth, bp. 8 April, 1618; prob. mentioned in will of her uncle John of Dedham.
Sarah ..... (1)=Thomas Rogers, bp. 30 Jan. 1574; shoemaker; inherited the freehold; will pro. 14 Jan. 1625.
=(2) Mary ..... survived her husband.
Mary, bp. 28 April, 1576; m. Wm. Griffin.
Elizabeth Gale (2)=John Rogers "the famous preacher of Dedham"; mentioned in wills of his uncle Richard of Wethersfield, and bro. Thomas of Moulsham; ob. 18 Oct. 1636; will pro. 20 Feb. 1636-7. Mar. (3) Dorothy Stanton, relict of Richard Wiseman; her will pro. 6 Oct. 1640.
=(1).....
Elizabeth. bp. 21 July, 1577.
Richard, bp. 15 April, 1579.
Thomas, bp. 11 Dec. 1605; inherited the homestead.
Robert Crane, grocer, of Great Coggeshall in Essex; will pro. 18 Mar. 1658; mentions dau. Rogers and her children.
=Mary, dau. of Samuel Sparhawk, of Dedham.
John, bp. 18 Oct. 1612; perhaps came to Billerica, Mass.
Nathaniel, bp. 13 Feb. 1615; ob. 1616.
Nathaniel, bp. 10 Nov. 1618; ob. 1622.
Mary, bp. 20 July, 1621.
a
b
c
d


a
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John, eldest son, haberdasher of Colchester in Essex; will pro. 3 Oct. 1628.
Mary.
Samuel, a clerk.
Mary.
John.
Mary.
Daniel
Frances.
3 children.
Abigail
Thomas Peck, of Prittlewell.
Thomas.
John.
Abigail.
Bridget
Edmond Auger.
John.
Samuel.
Bridget.
Martha
... Backler.
Martha.
Mary.
Nathaniel, second son, came to N. E. 1636; pastor of church in Ipswich; ob. 3 July, 1655; will pro. 26 Sept. 1655.
Margaret Crane, b. about 1610; came to N. E.; d. in Ipswich 23 Jan. 1675–6; adm. granted to eldest son John Rogers, 30 Mar. 1676.
Samuel Crane, of Gt. Coggeshall, gent. will pro. 10 10 Aug. 1670; mentions sister Margaret Rogers and her children.
John, a minor in 1628; living 1640.
Mary, bp. in Coggeshall Feb. 1628; m. Rev. W. Hubbard of Ipswich; living 1685.
John, b. in Coggeshall 23 Jan. 1630; Pres. of Harv. Coll.; ob. 2 July, 1684.
Nathaniel, b. in Assington 30 Sept. 1632; d. in Ipswich, N. E. 14 June, 1680.
Samuel, b. in Assington 16 Jan. 1634–5; d. in Ipswich, 21 Dec. 1693.
Ezekiel, called 4th son; d. in N. E. 5 July, 1674.
Timothy, b. in Ipswich 9 Nov. 1638.
Margaret(1)
Bishop.
Daniel Rogers succeeded his father at Wethersfield.
(2)Sarah, dau. of John Everard, cit. of London.
Hannah, m. Roger Cockington. Issue; Roger and Samuel. Had afterward 2 or 3 husbands.
Samuel, lecturer at Cree Church in London.
Mary, s. p.
Margaret, s. p.
Ezra, s. p.
Nathaniel, s. p.
William(1)
Jenkin.
Mary
(2)Adam Harsnett of Cranham, Essex, clerk; will pro. 16 Sept. 1639.
Issue: John and others. To John the portrait of his grandfather Rogers.
Mary, wid. of Thomas Barker; m. 16 July, 1651; bur. 12 Feb. 1678–9.
(3)
Ezekiel Rogers
an eminent preacher, came to N. E. 1638, pastor of church in Rowley; ob. 23 Jan. 1660; will pro. 26 Mar., 1661. He mentions niece Eliz. Cawton. Mar. (2) a dau. of Rev. John Wilson, who d. with child Dec. 1650.
(1)Joan Hartopp, came to N. E.; bur. in Rowley 8 May, 1649.
Issue all dead before 1656.
3 daus. not named, one m. ..... Hasseler.
Daniel Rogers, rector of Wotton in Northamptonshire; m. (2) dau. of .... Reading, counsellor at law.
(1) Dorothy Ball, dau. of the Mayor of Northampton.
William Jenkin, of Christ's Church, b. at Sudbury, 1612; d. in Newgate 19 Jan. 1684–5.
Mary
Daniel Sutton.
Elizabeth
Thomas Cawton.
John Jenkin.
Ezekiel Jenkin.
Anne
..... Clarke, a minister.
Abigail
..... Taylor.
Daniel, s. p.
Dorothy.
Sarah
John Bedell. Issue all dead in 1656.
Richard Rogers
rector of Clopton in Suffolk.
Elizabeth, dau. of Charles Humphrey, gent. and relict of Matthew Brownerig, rector of Clopton.
Joseph, s. p.
Nathaniel.
Abigail.
Ezekiel Rogers of Shalford in Essex; m. dau. of Sir Robert Johnson, and relict of .....
Humphrey.
Elizabeth.
Culverwell, s. p.
Sarah.

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JOHN ROGERS.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE AND CHARACTER.

Rogers' Birth and Birthplace. — The exact Spot unimportant. — Educated at Cambridge. — Chosen to Christ's Church, Oxford. — Goes into Holy Orders. — Error as to his immediate Occupation. — Becomes Rector of Trinity the Less. — His recognition as a Romish Priest. — Records of his Appointment and Resignation. — Goes to Antwerp as Chaplain of the Merchant Adventurers. — Foxe's Brief Account of Him. — The same in his Latin Edition. — Variations in the two Versions. — Still a Romish Priest. — Left England voluntarily, and not as an Exile. — His gradual Conversion to Protestantism. — His intimacy with Tyndale. — Coverdale's alleged Acquaintance questioned. — His Marriage. — His Wife's Character and Condition. — His connection with the Translation of the Bible briefly noticed. — His removal to Wittenberg. — Becomes Pastor of a Congregation there. — His Training for his future Destiny.

THE early history of John Rogers, like that of many others of his time who distinguished themselves in various professions, is indistinct, though not quite obscure. All that is now known concerning his family will be found in the portion of this work devoted to his genealogy. It may be safely assumed that he was born about the year 1500, and probably at the little village or hamlet of Deritend, in the parish of Aston, then in the suburbs of, but now quite sur-

rounded by, the City of Birmingham.* His birth-place has lost its identity in the same manner that Islington and Clerkenwell have been merged in the generic name of London.

After all, gratifying as it might be to the antiquary to establish with certainty the precise spot where he first saw the light, it is a matter of little importance. The locality, wherever it was, had nothing to do with the man, and it is with the man and his acts only that we have to deal.

The history of the first thirty years of his life may be summed up in a few words. He was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1525.† There is nowhere to be discovered the slightest record whether or not he distinguished himself as a scholar, and the fact can only be presumed from the circumstances of his subsequent career. Foxe says merely that he "profitably travailed in good learning", or, in his Latin edition, that "he resided long at Cambridge, attentively and diligently engaged in the honourable pursuit of learning." He was a severe student, either during his collegiate course or in the years immediately following, and probably both, or he would not have been prepared for the great task upon which he was soon after engaged, or have been entitled to the unqualified commendations bestowed upon him as one of the first scholars of his age. Lewis states that he was chosen, the same year in which he took his degree, to the Cardinal's (now Christ's) College, at Oxford, of which he was made a junior canon, and soon after went into holy orders.‡ If

* See Genealogical Researches, p. 221, &c.

† Lewis' History of the Translations of the Bible, 1818, p. 223.

‡ Ibid.

this be so, it furnishes a proof that his scholarship and abilities had already attracted attention, for this favourite college of Cardinal Wolsey had been but recently founded, and, at that time, earnest efforts were made to draw within it the most noted and promising scholars from other institutions, to whom great inducements were held out, in order that its reputation might be established and its interests rapidly advanced.

It has been customary with all writers, in their very brief biographical notices of him, to assume that he was almost immediately called, by the Company of Merchant Adventurers, to be one of their Chaplains at Antwerp; and Foxe, though he says only that he was "at the length" chosen and called by them, still asserts that he "served them to their good contentation many years," or, as in the Latin edition, "for a long time." But Foxe crowds the entire history of at least thirty-five years of his life into some half a dozen lines, and it may be doubted whether he was well informed, or wrote with strict accuracy, upon this point. There is good reason for believing that, before he went to Antwerp, he officiated, for nearly two years, as Rector of the church of Holy Trinity, or Trinity the Less, in the City of London. Newcourt, in his list of the Rectors of that church, states that John Rogers was presented to the living, by the Prior and Convent of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, on the 26th of December, 1532, and that he resigned the same, probably late in 1534, his successor being appointed on the 24th of October, in that year.* In a foot-note, Newcourt intimates that it was the same John Rogers who was

* Newcourt's Repertorium, 1708, vol. i. pp. 555–6.

subsequently Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, who we know was the Martyr. Whether this was a mere presumption on his part, or he had any authority for this intimation, cannot now be ascertained. The present Rector of St. Michael's, Queenhithe* (to which parish that of Trinity the Less was united after the Great Fire), has carefully examined all the documents of that church that were preserved, but finds no allusion to him; while the original records of the Diocese of London, preserved at the Bishop's Registry, merely relate the bare facts, in the stereotyped language of such entries. A careful and thorough research reveals no official authority for the statement made by Newcourt, and its correctness can only be presumed from the usual accuracy of that laborious writer, who, it should seem, would hardly have ventured to record it without having what appeared to him sufficient reason for so doing.

The original entries referred to are in Latin, and may be translated as follows: —

"On the 26th day of the same month [December], in the year of our Lord above named [1532], *Dominus* John Rogers, priest, was admitted to the parochial church of Holy Trinity the Less, in the City of London, vacant by the natural demise of Master Thomas Lane, the last Rector of the same, at the presentation of those religious men, the Prior and Convent of the Blessed Mary Overy, in Southwark, in the Diocese of Winchester, the true promoters of the said church; and was canonically instituted in the same, with all its rights and appurtenances; and, his allegiance being

* Rev. James Lupton, M.A., Minor Canon of St. Paul's and of Westminster Abbey, to whom the writer is indebted for numerous courteous attentions, which he desires thus publicly to acknowledge.

performed, the Archdeacon of London, or his official, was enjoined to induct the same."

"Upon the same 24th day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord above named [1534], Master John Darrell*, Bachelor in Degrees, was admitted to the parochial church of Holy Trinity the Less, in the City of London, vacant by the free resignation of *Dominus* John Rogers, the last Rector of the same," &c.†

If the foregoing is to be relied upon (and there seems no reason to doubt its accuracy), it is interesting to possess this official recognition of the fact, that the afterwards severe Protestant writer and preacher was, at one period of his life, an ordinary Popish priest, and ministering, in that capacity, in a parish not far distant from the spot where he eventually suffered martyrdom for his alleged heresies.

This church of Trinity the Less, as has been stated, was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, and the parish was subsequently united to that of St. Michael, Queenhithe, which union still exists. A new building was, however, erected by the Lutherans, on or near the site of the old edifice, and has since been commonly known as the Swedes' church. The old one stood "on the south side of Knight Riders Street, in the eastern part thereof."‡

Assuming the authenticity of Newcourt's declaration, some light is thus thrown upon a period of the Martyr's life, during which it has hitherto been supposed that

* He had been Vicar of Cressing, in Essex, from Sept. 3rd, 1526, to Aug. 29th, 1528, and is also mentioned as "Portioner of Bacon's Portion" from April 27th, 1535, to June 25th, 1554. He died in 1554 or 1555, his successor being appointed (after that event) on the 10th of July, in the latter year.—*Newcourt's Repertorium.*

† From the original records in the Bishop of London's Registry.

‡ See Newcourt, Stow, &c.

he was in Germany. That he did officiate for some time as Chaplain to the Merchant Adventurers, there is no doubt; and he might have done so for about three years, if we fix the date of his first going to Antwerp even so late as the end of the year 1534, or immediately after his resignation of the Rectorship of Trinity the Less. It is not necessary to suppose that he ceased to act as their Chaplain during the time that he was engaged in the translation of the Bible, or that he left their service immediately after he had finished that work. It is more than probable that his Biblical labours were performed quite secretly, and that he did not see fit to abandon his ministerial ones during their progress; for, if otherwise, how can it be accounted for that, while Tyndale, his coadjutor and predecessor, was put to death in the immediate vicinity, he remained unmolested? Therefore, without so soon in this narrative questioning the veracity of Foxe, it may be safely said that he served the Merchants as their Chaplain, for several, though not many years. The preserved records of that Company, being of a purely commercial character*, throw no light upon his history, and, indeed, make no allusion whatever to him. The only original account of this period of his life, which is ordinarily quoted, is that by Foxe, which, as in the former case, is comprised in a very few lines.

In referring to Foxe, here and elsewhere, the present writer has chosen his first English edition, printed in

* "The Company of Merchant Adventurers, first termed 'Merchants of St. Thomas à Becket,' was one of those commercial corporations for which England has long been celebrated. Less ancient than the 'Merchants of the Staple,' the Adventurers eventually superseded them, by procuring chartered privileges, through which they were enabled to trade with greater advantage than their less favoured rivals."—*Mr. Bruce, Note in Leycester Correspondence*, p. 146.

1563, — carefully collating the same with the subsequent editions revised by him and published before his death, and also comparing it with the original Latin edition, printed at Basle (whither he had fled to escape persecution), in 1559. This latter work * has, it is to be feared, been too much neglected. Although much less verbose than its English successors, it contains, nevertheless, many interesting and often highly important statements entirely omitted in them. The earliest records of this author have been selected, both because the facts he related were fresher in his recollection, and because it can be readily imagined that, at least in some instances, in omitting what he had formerly published, he was guided less by motives of accuracy than by a desire to oblige the relatives and friends of some of his subjects, by suppressing certain particulars in their histories which, if not exactly discreditable, were deemed unworthy to be perpetuated. In all cases, the exact language of Foxe will be used, whether elegantly expressed or not (merely correcting the orthography), because it is both just and proper to let him speak for himself, and not as he should have spoken, according to the various opinions of subsequent commentators. While the ponderous folio volumes of the Acts and Monuments contain a heterogeneous, and oftentimes confused mass of facts and fancies, it is certain that they have ever since served as the basis of all succeeding histories of the times they commemorate. The dross can be readily separated from the purer ore by any moderately discriminating hand. Foxe lived during the times, and was, to some extent, a spectator of the scenes about which he wrote, and certainly possessed

* Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum, fol., Basle, 1559–63.

every facility for correctness : whether he always made the best use of them, remains to be seen. He was intimately acquainted with many of the actors, and, in compiling his work, with the judgment and experience which a man then over forty years of age should have possessed, he had in his hands the original documents which he professed either to publish entire, or from which to have made copious and accurate extracts. It is true that he was sadly tinctured with the superstitions and fanaticisms of the times, evidences of which often occur in his writings, but it is by no means difficult to determine when the simple historian slept, and the mere partisan religionist or reckless enthusiast guided the pen.

In Foxe's account of Rogers, the variations in the different English editions are comparatively trifling. In all of them he indeed omitted a very interesting and important narrative which appears in the Latin edition, and which will be related hereafter. But when revising his former publications and preparing a new edition for the press, in 1576, eleven years before his death, and after an interval of thirteen years from the appearance of the first one, he found very little to add to or subtract from what he had previously recorded. It may not also be unworthy of notice that all the modern editors of the Acts and Monuments have found themselves unable, or it has been deemed unnecessary, to add more than a few not very important notes or illustrations to this portion of that work.

The entire history of Rogers for upwards of thirty-five years is thus given by Foxe, in his first English edition of 1563, the alterations and additions which he subsequently introduced being enclosed in brackets: —

"John Rogers, brought up in the University of Cambridge, where he profitably travailed in good learning, at the length was chosen and called by the Merchant Adventurers to be their Chaplain at Antwerp, in Brabant, where he served them [whom he served] to their good contentation many years. It chanced him there to fall in company with that worthy [servant and] martyr of God, William Tyndale, and with Myles Coverdale, which, both for the hatred they bare to Popish [superstition and] idolatry, and for the love they bare toward [love to] true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them the Scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the Gospel of God, insomuch that he cast off the heavy yoke of Popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them two in that painful * and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is entitled 'The Translation of Thomas Matthew.'"

The same account in the Latin edition may be freely translated as follows: —

"John Rogers, having first resided long at Cambridge, attentively and diligently engaged in the honourable pursuit of learning, afterwards being summoned thence by the Merchants, removed to Antwerp, where, for a long time, he performed among them the sacred functions, after the common use and custom of the worshippers of idols at that time. About the same time was driven into exile, in Brabant, a most excellent man, William Tyndale, and also Myles Coverdale, each in himself famous, and the former since exalted by martyrdom. Rogers, having gained the

* I. e., pains-taking, laborious.

intimacy of these men, began, by little and little, with a fortunate instinct, to recognise the purer brightness of the Gospel light, until at length, as his judgment became from day to day more and more matured, and the yoke of Popish servitude gradually shaken off, he joined with them in the common labour of translating the Holy Scriptures into English, which work was at that time published among us under a different name, viz. that of Thomas Matthew."

The general features of these two accounts are alike, but the latter enables us to determine one important particular. While from the former we should be unable to decide what was the peculiar religious faith of Rogers at the time he went to Antwerp, and could only presume that his patrons, the Merchants, were of the then established religion of England, and indeed of most of the continent,—from the latter we learn distinctly that he left England a Popish priest, and continued to officiate as such during his ministrations to the Merchants. It also establishes the fact that he had not left the country, as had many others, from motives of personal safety. He was, probably, a quiet, unoffending priest, like many others of his class; for the evidence is that he voluntarily resigned the Rectorship he had held in London, and accepted an invitation to the Chaplaincy at Antwerp, as a clergyman of the Established Church at the present day might receive and respond to a call from the Protestant congregation at Paris or Rome. From his intimation to Gardiner, on the occasion of his preliminary examination before the Privy Council, a week before his final trial and condemnation, it would seem that his faith in the Romish Church must have been, at least, shaken, before he left England, for he declared that

they—Gardiner and the other Bishops—first brought him to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the Bishop of Rome, twenty years before, when he was a young man. It is not improbable, therefore, that he resigned his Rectorship of Trinity the Less on account of this incipient change in his sentiments, and gladly embraced the invitation of the Merchants, knowing that at Antwerp he could enjoy more freedom of conscience than would be tolerated in England. But, admitting this to be true, he nevertheless went freely, and not as one flying under the impulse of personal fear. Wood's presumption, therefore, that he first went with his family to the continent in order to escape the persecutions in the time of Queen Mary, falls to the ground, because it is well known that he remained abroad until the reign of Edward VI., after which he did not again leave England.*

The intimation by Foxe would appear to be that he did not suddenly and rapidly withdraw from his Romish connection, but that the change in his religious faith was effected gradually, and even by slow degrees, or, as he expresses it, "by little and little—from day to day," until at length he emerged into the full light and liberty of the true Gospel. That he had not (if other representations of the same author are true), at a period considerably after this time, arrived at a perfect appreciation of religious liberty, will be shown hereafter. But the very expressive language of Foxe confirms the presumption that he continued his ministrations as a Romish priest, even after his personal associations commenced with Tyndale, and it is pro-

* Athenæ Oxonienses, 1813, vol. i. col. 569, &c., in account of Daniel Rogers. See also Genealogical Researches, pp. 226-7, where it is shown that Wood confounded the Martyr's father with Sir Edward Rogers.

bable that not until his close and critical examination of the Bible, while he was preparing it for the press, after Tyndale's death, did he entirely throw off the Popish yoke, when he found it necessary to seek a new home in a less bigoted section of the country. Rogers himself declared, in his spirited colloquy with Gardiner after his condemnation, that he had not been in his (the Popish) Church for twenty years; not meaning, perhaps, that he had, exactly twenty years before, entirely freed himself from all connection with that Church, but that, at about that period, he began to absolve himself from his allegiance to it.

With Tyndale, Rogers was undoubtedly on terms of familiar intimacy so long as he lived; but, as his martyrdom took place as early as October 6th, 1536, the acquaintance could not have lasted more than about two years, and it is not surprising that Tyndale should have made no reference to him in his writings or his correspondence,—regarding him, probably, as a sort of neophyte, not yet confirmed in the new faith, who might be personally injured if his disposition to change his creed were noised abroad. As regards Coverdale, however, the case is different. He lived many years afterwards, and in times when no harm could have been done by acknowledging the intimacy, if such an one as Foxe represents existed, and in giving to him the credit to which he was entitled as his Biblical coadjutor, if he had occupied that position.* And yet, for anything that Coverdale wrote or said, so

* Coverdale lived until 1569, and Foxe until 1587; and, from their character, habits, and profession, they must have been intimately associated for many years in London, after the death of Rogers in 1555. It will be well to bear this statement in mind, as it will become important hereafter.

far as his writings and sayings have reached us, the world would never have known that such a man as John Rogers ever existed. Whether the two men were thus intimately associated, and the probable reasons for this remarkable silence of the "quondam Bishop of Exeter," will be discussed elsewhere, as also the connection of Rogers with the Translation of the Bible, which subject will be investigated after having examined all that is known of his history during the next few years.

The most important personal event in the life of Rogers at this period was his marriage, a step which he could not have taken until he had resolved to separate himself entirely from the Romish Church. Foxe merely says, in his English edition, that "he, knowing by the Scriptures that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honest and honourable amongst all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony." The language is similar in the Latin copy, and is calculated to mislead. It is not to be supposed that he had made any "unlawful vows," as he belonged to no monkish order sworn to celibacy, but that, as an ordinary priest, he was simply prohibited from marrying, under certain penalties. Foxe, doubtless, merely designed to express the fact that he disregarded or defied the canon of his old Church in that particular, and, in thus taking to himself a wife, effectually released himself from his allegiance to and connection with it. It was the end and result of the change which had been gradually taking place in his views and faith, and the open declaration of the warfare that was henceforth to exist between him and his former associates.

The name of his wife was Adriana de Weyden, and

she was of an Antwerp family. At least, this latter fact is to be presumed from what Foxe says, in his Latin edition only, and also because we hear of Rogers in no other place until he removed, with his wife, to Wittenberg. Wood speaks of her as Adriana Pratt, *alias* de Weyden.* The two names are synonymous, both signifying *meadow*. Nothing is known of her family or her early life, except what may be found in a line or two in Foxe's Latin edition only, where he says that she was "more richly endowed with virtue and soberness of life, than with worldly treasures;" which was, perhaps, the highest encomium he could have passed upon her, although he saw fit to omit it in his subsequent publications. That she was already a Protestant there can be no doubt, for a woman of the character described by Foxe, had she been a Papist, would not have hazarded every thing by uniting herself to a priest, nor would Rogers have been likely to select a wife entertaining religious sentiments at variance with his own.

The marriage must have taken place as early as 1537, and not far from the time of the publication of the Matthew Bible, which occurred in that year. Foxe says, also in the Latin edition only, that it was "shortly after," and that they "went forthwith to Wittenberg." It is not impossible that a private marriage had taken place even before this date, and one circumstance would seem to favour such a presumption, viz. the fact that they brought eight children from Germany to England as early as the middle of 1548, which large number, reckoning the marriage to have taken place in 1537, must have been born within eleven years. Rogers

* Athenæ Oxonienses, 1813, vol. i. col. 569, &c., in account of Daniel Rogers.

himself declared to the Lord Chancellor, after his condemnation on the 29th day of January, 1555, when appealing to him that his wife might visit him, that she had then been such "these eighteen years." In other instances the Martyr spoke of dates and events with great exactness, and it may be presumed that the duration of his married life had rather exceeded than fallen short of the time he named. Frehcrus says distinctly that he was married in 1536.* It will probably be safe, and quite in accordance with the after events of his life, to establish the date of his marriage in the latter part of 1536, or very early in 1537.

It is not necessary to suppose that his speedy removal to Wittenberg arose entirely from motives of personal safety, although that consideration might have had some weight with him. The facts of his connection with the new Translation of the Bible, and of his marriage, and consequently of his absolute revolt from Popery, could by that time have been no secret. He must have been surrounded by enemies, and there seems no good reason why he should not then and there have suffered the fate of his predecessor, Tyndale, had he remained near the scene of his conversion, or where he had committed the offences so odious to the Papists. The fact that he was not molested confirms the opinion that his great Biblical labours were performed secretly, and, that being the case, it is easy to account for the other fact that so few particulars concerning those labours were preserved. He was, evidently, a man who cared little for personal glory or self-aggrandisement,—his only object being the promotion of the cause in which he had ventured every-

* Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum, fol. Nuremberg, 1688, vol. i. p. 162.

thing, even his life. He perhaps kept no memoranda of his occupation, but merely quietly furnished the sheets as they were required for the press, and even these were probably destroyed as soon as they were no longer useful. Possibly he might have remained in Antwerp without being subjected to any open persecution, although he must have been in more or less danger from the secret machinations of the Papists.

The writer has examined an old MS. giving a general account of his life and history, in which it is stated that the company of Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp "gave great shelter and encouragement to the first Reformers, then and afterwards."* This appears to have been true to a considerable extent, but certainly their ability to protect them in an emergency could not have been very great, or Tyndale would not have been murdered in their midst. Rogers probably determined upon a removal, partly from prudential motives, and partly from a desire for a nearer and closer communion with Luther and Melancthon, and other kindred spirits of the Reformation. Foxe gives us no information whatever on the subject, and only records the bare facts that he went to Wittenberg, became a proficient in the German language, and took charge of a congregation there, to which he ministered for many years with great ability and success.

A careful research among the archives in Belgium and Saxony has resulted in a failure to discover even so little as his name. The destruction of vast quantities of public and private records in the course of the numerous continental changes, and the disorderly condition in which most of those that were preserved

* MS. in Dr. Williams' Library, Redcross Street, London.

are still to be found, may account for this. It is to be hoped that future researches may prove more successful. The conclusion is that he lived a quiet and unobtrusive life, never coming in contact with the civil authorities, attending strictly to the practical duties of his calling, serving God in his public ministrations, and privately enjoying the sweets of domestic intercourse (far sweeter to him by reason of their former prohibition), and the rich communion resulting from an intimate association with the German scholars and Reformers. But, during all this time, his heart and mind were being schooled and disciplined for the fierce battle and fiery trial through which he was eventually to pass, so that when the hour should come in which, perhaps, the fate of the whole English Church would depend upon his moral and physical courage, he should not be found wanting in either. How perfect was that discipline, and how nobly he maintained the high though almost overwhelming position assigned him, history has hitherto related only in general terms, and the world has till now but partially recognised. It remains for the present writer to add a few particulars to the record, and endeavour to increase and deepen the respect and veneration to which his memory is unquestionably entitled.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST AUTHORISED ENGLISH BIBLE.

Rogers' Biblical Labours hitherto unacknowledged, misrepresented, or grossly undervalued. — Foxe's serious Discrepancies and Misstatements. — Coverdale never associated with Tyndale or Rogers. — Coverdale's Character and History, and those of his Translation. — His Injustice towards Rogers. — The two Translations Rivals. — Tyndale and Rogers as Friends and Co-labourers. — Tyndale's Arrest and Death. — Rogers continues the Work alone. — Fate of Coverdale's Bible. — Its Rejection by both King and Clergy, and the Causes. — Grafton becomes Proprietor of the Matthew Bible. — Extent of Tyndale's Connection with it. — Character of Rogers' Services. — Materials used by him. — Was something more than a "Proof-Reader." — His Estimate of Coverdale's Version. — Rogers alone entitled to the Credit of producing the first authorised English Bible. — Its Reception in England. — Cranmer's Gratification and Testimony concerning it. — Cromwell's Interest in it, and its Favour with the King. — It is sanctioned by Royal License and Proclamation. — Grafton desires a Monopoly. — His extraordinary Letters to Cromwell. — Copies of this Bible ordered to be provided by every Curate for his Parish Church. — Strange Misrepresentation by Foxe in regard to this Injunction. — New Edition demanded. — Why Rogers did not superintend it. — Alterations in it. — All Versions suppressed. — Especial Malignity towards the Matthew Bible. — Fate of Rogers and Coverdale contrasted. — Frank Estimate of Coverdale. — Rogers' Biblical Labours criticised. — The first English Commentator. — Also Author of first English Concordance. — Did not translate the Apocryphal Books. — His Protest concerning them. — Dedication to Henry VIII. — His other Contributions. — Who and what was "Thomas Matthew?" — Technical Description of the Matthew Bible. — Strange Forgery perpetrated in a Copy of it. — Transatlantic Anecdote.

THE exact particulars of Rogers' connection with the Translation of the Bible into the English language, published in 1537, and known as "The Translation of Thomas Matthew," or "The Matthew Bible," it is im-

possible, at the present day, to determine by positive proof. Enough circumstantial evidence remains, however, to enable us to identify some of the results of his labours, and to arrive at a tolerable degree of certainty respecting their extent and importance. As has been said before, the evident modesty of the man, or his little care for personal reputation, prevented him from ever claiming the high distinction to which he was really entitled on this score, and the carelessness or inattention of modern historians (until very recently) suffered these claims to sleep, or, at least, to be nearly hidden from observation under the greater commendations awarded to others, who perhaps really deserved less. In the earlier times there were two distinct classes of writers on this subject, and their conclusions or allegations have been heedlessly adopted by more modern authors. One class, headed by Bishop Bale and followed by Fuller and others, declared that Rogers translated the entire Bible, "from Genesis to the Revelation;" while the other restricted his labours to those of a mere "corrector of the press," thus rendering him what would be about equivalent to a "proof-reader" of the present day. More careful and thorough researches, within a few years, have shown conclusively that both of these classes of writers were equally wrong in their assertions, and that, although the Martyr is not, perhaps, entitled to the credit of having made a complete original translation of the entire Bible, he is, nevertheless, to be regarded as something higher than a mere mechanical reviser of typographical errors. To Mr. Anderson we are indebted for the first clear investigation of this subject, and, although we may not agree with all his conclusions, and must lament his numerous minor inaccuracies, very little can be added to the general

results of his researches, and his work must be considered standard authority, unless future developments should show a necessity for the contrary.*

Relying solely, in all probability, upon the declaration of Foxe that the Martyr was associated at Antwerp with both Tyndale and Coverdale, by whose instrumentality he was first converted from Popery, and was subsequently united with them in the common labour of this Translation, it has been customary to attribute to these three men, collectively, the production of that work; always, however, indicating the part that Rogers had in it as of the least importance. A sad confusion of dates, on the part of Foxe and his followers, has also been instrumental in perpetuating the errors on this subject, which have existed for more than three centuries. For instance, Foxe alleges that the book known as Coverdale's Bible made its appearance in 1532, while the very announcement in the work itself declares it to have been as late as October, 1535; and it now seems certain that, although probably printed by that date, it was not really received in England until some months after. Without examining what was, perhaps, a typographical error in Foxe's first edition, that date was received as correct, and the conclusion at once adopted that a new edition was soon after demanded, upon which Tyndale, Coverdale, and Rogers were all simultaneously employed at Antwerp. But Mr. Anderson has shown very clearly — so clearly, indeed, that the subsequent biographers of Coverdale have adopted his conclusions without attempting to controvert them — that he, Coverdale, was in England during the whole time that Tyndale was in Antwerp,

* Annals of the English Bible, by Christopher Anderson, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1845.

and most particularly during the two years preceding the publication of the Matthew Bible, and that there was no connection, of any character, between him and Tyndale or Rogers.*

Coverdale, it appears, had been from his youth a particular favourite and the protégé of Lord Crumwell, and was engaged, doubtless under his protection, somewhere in England, from as early as the year 1528 (when we hear of his preaching in Suffolk), until 1535, in preparing his translation for the press. Indeed, he is never heard of in any capacity, or in any place, between those two dates, and, as the labour of that work must have required years for its accomplishment, the presumption that he was thus occupied in strict privacy would account for this hitherto remarkable hiatus in his history. Mr. Anderson conjectures, with no little probability, that he resorted for this purpose to the solitude of his old monastery. Besides, if he had been connected with Tyndale and Rogers, it would be strange if he had not either shared the fate of the former, or been with the latter compelled to remain abroad, as he must have been equally obnoxious with his reputed coadjutors. But it appears that he was not upon the continent at all, until after the death of his friend and protector, Crumwell, in the year 1540, as he speaks, in a letter to Calvin, written from Frankfort, March 26th, 1548, of being invited to return to England, "after an exile of eight years." It is possible, but not very probable, that he may have been abroad temporarily while his translation was passing through the press, in order to superintend that work; but if so, he returned immediately to England,

* Anderson's Annals, vol. i. pp. 563-4.

for we have certain evidence of his occupation and place of abode in London, during the years 1536 and 1537, embracing the very time when Rogers was engaged upon his work at Antwerp. The idea, therefore, that Coverdale ever had any connection with either Tyndale or Rogers, especially in regard to the Matthew Bible, must be for ever discarded.*

The writer has no disposition to detract an iota from the respect and veneration due to the memory of Coverdale, and which has so long been paid to it; nor is there any necessity for so doing. His work was certainly an important one, and to him will ever be due the credit of producing the first complete printed Bible in the English tongue, although its faults were numerous, and it failed to receive the sanction of either the civil or religious authorities. It was a great task for one man to accomplish, and he performed his mission by aiding in opening the way for his successors. Possibly the Matthew Bible would have been as coldly received, had it made its appearance at that time, and, in the economy of Providence, it was necessary that there should be a pioneer, which should suffer the fate usually allotted to all men and measures first put forward in any great enterprise. The most unpleasant reflection connected with this subject arises from the fact that Coverdale did not correct the error into which Foxe

* Mr. Offor (in his Memoir of Tyndale prefixed to Bagster's reprint of his New Testament of 1526, London, 1836) seems to intimate that Coverdale may have assisted Tyndale to some extent in the translation of the Pentateuch, and so "*profited by his MSS.*" in preparing his own volume; but Mr. Anderson shows not only that they could never have met at all, but that the former was at that time utterly unqualified to render any aid to the latter, whose only assistant then was Frith. Foxe's brief account of Tyndale's shipwreck, and subsequent meeting with Coverdale at Hamburgh for this purpose, must, therefore, be regarded as another of his minor fictions.

had fallen, as they must have been intimately acquainted, at least after their return to England in Queen Elizabeth's time, and the Bishop could hardly have been unaware of the statement which the historian had made. To Foxe alone must the utterance and perpetuation of the mistake be ascribed, for Bale, who published in 1557, and various other early writers, mention Rogers as associated only with Tyndale.

The allusions in the previous chapter to this reputed connection will now be understood. Coverdale never mentioned Rogers in his writings, probably because he knew nothing personally of him; and, with this, it may not be improper to unite another reason. It must not be forgotten that the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale were, really, rival ones. High and holy as was the object they both had in view, it cannot be doubted that these men were also actuated, to some extent, by the natural emotions and ambition always attendant upon authorship. Those old Reformers, good and great men as they were, were, after all, but men, subject to all the passions and idiosyncracies of their fellows; and it is not at all improbable that Coverdale experienced the slightest effusion of what would be ordinarily called jealousy, towards one who had shown a decided preference for the translation of his competitor, and whose labours in the same field had proved more successful than his own. The fact that he never mentioned Rogers in any manner, and especially that he did not exert himself sufficiently to correct the error committed by Foxe, when he could have done so most readily, renders this a much less painful and detractive conclusion than some which Mr. Anderson saw fit to draw concerning Coverdale, but in which it is not necessary for us to concur.

Therefore, simply laying him aside, as having no further present interest in our subject, we will proceed to the history of the Matthew Bible.

Tyndale, who had published his translation of the New Testament as early as 1525, and that of the Pentateuch in 1530, had been ever since zealously pursuing his labours, designing to embrace the entire Bible. He appears to have had no patron among the great men in high places, but only to have been encouraged and probably supported by personal friends, chiefly, it is to be presumed, among the English Merchants at Antwerp, to whom, as well as Rogers, he was also a Chaplain. During a portion of the time, he had been greatly assisted by John Frith, to whom he was warmly attached, and whose martyrdom, on the 4th of July, 1534, was to him a source of the greatest grief. After his death, Tyndale appears to have been entirely alone in his great undertaking, unless, but of which there is no positive evidence, he may have been aided to some extent by Rogers. It may be fairly presumed that the intimacy existing between them extended to the labour upon which Tyndale was engaged, and that Rogers was at least cognisant of the character and condition of his work, if he did not directly assist him in it, or he would hardly have been so readily prepared to take up and complete his unfinished MSS. after his arrest.

It has been stated that Rogers arrived at Antwerp, probably late in the year 1534, a few months after the death of Frith: therefore, as Tyndale was arrested early in the year 1535*, their personal associ-

* Mr. Offor thinks that his arrest took place in 1534, but, as the time of his imprisonment has been definitely fixed as a year and a half, and as he was put to death on the 6th of October, 1536, the date may be safely placed as late as March, 1535, which would be about six months

ation could not have existed more than a few months. It would not, however, require much time for two such men to reach each other's hearts; and it would seem as though Rogers had been especially sent thither to supply the place made vacant by the loss of Tyndale's former coadjutor. It is no idle fancy to imagine these two friends, seated in Tyndale's private study in the hospitable house of Thomas Poyntz*, discussing points of doctrine tending to the conversion and confirmation of the new comer in the Protestant faith; and subsequently to behold them both busily engaged in rendering into their own language the pages of that Sacred Volume which, till then, had been a sealed book to their countrymen. It may well be doubted if these two humble men, thus working silently in obscurity, realised the greatness of the mission they were fulfilling, or the results that were to accrue to the Church and the world from their unostentatious labours. They were but instruments in the hands of an all-wise and overruling Providence in producing the most momentous effects, and it does seem strange, to our finite comprehension, that, as often appears in the Divine economy, such valuable and efficient aids should be, apparently, rudely cast aside and left to perish, as soon as they had performed the service required of them.

But, if Rogers had not, personally, anything to do

after Rogers' resignation of the Rectorship of Trinity the Less, and his removal to Antwerp.

* Thomas Poyntz was one of the English Merchants at Antwerp, at whose house Tyndale (and probably Rogers) resided. He was wealthy, zealous, and benevolent, and while endeavouring to assist Tyndale, after his arrest, was himself imprisoned, but succeeded in effecting his escape. Afterwards returning to England, he died and was buried at North Okendon, in Essex, in 1562. His memory is entitled to respect, from the assistance he rendered the translators of the English Bible.

with the Translation before Tyndale's arrest, it is certain that he must have commenced his labours immediately after that event, or he could not possibly have completed them in time for the publication of the entire volume in 1537. The probability is that, in pursuance of his own inclination, as well as at the request of Tyndale's friends who were interested in the work itself, he was induced to take up the MSS. of his friend and teacher, just where and as he had been torn from them. It would also appear that these MSS. had been hidden in some secret place, when not in absolute use, for we are informed that, immediately after Tyndale's arrest, the magistrates came to his late residence and "took away all his books and other things," and they would hardly have left papers of that character behind them, if they had been discovered. This confirms the suggestions hitherto proposed, viz. that Rogers had then been but a short time in Antwerp; that his change of faith was not generally known, and he was, therefore, not yet obnoxious to the Papists; and that his labours in connection with the Matthew Bible were performed quite secretly. It seems certain that he, or some mutual friend, must have been acquainted with the depository of these important papers, for the portions of the Old Testament in the Matthew Bible, recognised and acknowledged to be of Tyndale's translation, far exceed those that had already been printed. Tyndale could not have furnished the information either at the time of, or after his arrest, for that event took place very unexpectedly to him, through the most heartless and despicable treachery of a pretended friend, and it does not appear that he was suffered to have any intercourse with his former acquaintances during his imprisonment.

Taking into consideration, therefore, the vast amount of labour that must have been required in order that the complete work should be printed and in England by the month of July, 1537, it cannot be doubted that Rogers entered upon it immediately after Tyndale's arrest, or as early as April or May, 1535. Whether he remained at Antwerp during the whole of the time he was thus occupied, or went to Hamburg, Marburg, Lubeck, or Paris (all of which places have been named), to superintend the printing, cannot now be known, nor is it of much importance. The probability is, however, that he continued at Antwerp, ministering regularly to his congregation, and devoting his leisure time to the Translation; for, if he quitted that place at once, he could have been Chaplain to the Merchants for only a few months, instead of a few years, as all writers assert. The fact, also, that he married at Antwerp, about 1537, would indicate a continued residence there, or that he returned thither, even if he was temporarily absent. It was not absolutely necessary that he should be on the spot where the sheets were printed; and there is no good reason to doubt that there might have been a private press among the Merchants, at Antwerp itself. One circumstance would justify the presumption that such was the case, and that the printing was done there, under his immediate supervision. As this involves another question of some importance, it must be examined more closely.

The evidence that the work upon which Rogers was engaged was partly owing to his own zeal and that of Tyndale's friends, both for the sake of the object itself and as a tribute to his memory, and was in no way a mere commercial enterprise, is to be found in the fact that a large portion of the Old Testament, extending to

the beginning of the book of Isaiah, had evidently been finished and printed before Grafton and Whitchurch, as the subsequent publishers, became connected with the undertaking. This had doubtless been accomplished through the private subscriptions of Tyndale's friends, most probably the English Merchants at Antwerp. In order to understand the sequel, we must return for a moment to England.

Coverdale's translation had been, to use the mildest term, a failure, both morally and practically, or in the way of business. A very small edition had been published at, of course, a great expense. It had been virtually rejected, or, at least, not accepted by the authorities, and was thus rendered valueless to the publishers. The causes of this want of success, it is, perhaps, useless now to inquire. Certain it is that it met with no favour, for, although we hear of a few copies being in private hands, neither Cranmer or the King, as the spiritual and temporal heads of the Church and the kingdom, appear to have even received it, much less to have given it their influence. Even Crumwell, the warm friend and steady patron of the translator, does not seem to have urged or even suggested its official recognition. Still, under the circumstances, and in the peculiar condition of the times, its very publication was a bold step, and doubtless led to more or less notoriety, which tended to awaken public interest on the subject. Probably this interest steadily augmented, until a demand was created for a version that might be less objectionable and more capable of general diffusion. The Romish priests, with Gardiner at their head, were furiously opposed to any measure that should bring the Bible into common use, and their bitter opposition naturally had the effect to increase

the contrary desire on the part of the more enlightened, both among the laity and the more liberal clergy.

Taking advantage of this state of things, the printers Grafton and Whitchurch, or, more properly speaking, the former, whose name chiefly appears in the documents preserved concerning this subject, began to look about for some mode of supplying the deficiency and answering this demand. It would have been madness to employ Coverdale upon a second edition of his own discarded work, and the time required for a complete new translation would have been an insuperable objection to men who, from all the evidence, regarded the whole matter only in a commercial light. At this juncture they learned, in some way, that another translation was already far advanced, and doubtless hastened to Antwerp, in order to ascertain what terms could be made with the parties already interested in it. They evidently found the condition of things satisfactory, and became at once the future proprietors of the undertaking; Grafton, it appears, having so much confidence in it that he embarked in it almost his entire fortune. At this time, there seems little doubt, all the books of the Old Testament preceding that of Isaiah had not only been completed, under the supervision of Rogers, but the sheets containing them had actually been printed; for, just at this part of the Matthew Bible, a new numbering commences, and a title page is inserted containing the words "The prophetes in Englishe," on the reverse of which, above and below a large wood-cut, are the initials "R. G." and "E. W." (for Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch), evidently indicating the point at which the new proprietors became connected with the work. In

other words, they purchased of the Merchants, or whoever had the prior control of them, the sheets already printed, and employed Rogers to prepare and complete the remainder as rapidly as possible.

How much of this Translation had been accomplished by Tyndale before his arrest, and how much was done solely by Rogers, or how far the latter availed himself of the published labours of Coverdale, are questions that cannot now be satisfactorily or minutely answered. It has been customary to attribute positively to Tyndale the entire New Testament, and the Old Testament to the end of the second Book of Chronicles. To these, others add the book of Jonah, and Mr. Anderson sundry isolated chapters and passages from various Old Testament books, being, probably, those which were annexed to Tyndale's New Testament of 1534, under the head of "Epistles taken out of the Old Testament, which are read in the Church, after the use of Salisbury, upon certain days of the year." Mr. Offor thinks that perhaps Tyndale had translated the entire Old Testament, as "it is plain that, from Esdras to Malachi, it is one translation, published by Coverdale in 1535, and by Matthew in 1537, with such alterations as pleased the respective editors," and on this he bases the inference that Coverdale may have "profited by his MSS." * One circumstance might seem to confirm this view, for, at the end of the Old Testament in the Matthew Bible, are placed the letters "W. T." in large capitals; but, whether this was intended to intimate so much, or only that he was the author of the greater portion, it is impossible now to determine. It seems, however, perfectly clear that at least the portions

* Memoir of Tyndale before quoted.

just mentioned were Tyndale's, and that he left certain finished and unfinished MSS., being perfect or imperfect translations of various parts of the Old Testament, with, probably, numerous notes; all of which were in the possession of Rogers, and to which he confined himself so far as they extended. That he did give a decided preference to Tyndale's translation, presuming that he resorted to Coverdale's at all, is equally certain; as also that his judgment in that respect has been approved by the whole world from that day to this. The probability is, however, that, being urged to a rapid completion of the work by Grafton, who looked mainly to the most speedy return of his outlay, he used the MSS. of Tyndale so far as they could be made available, and then, to satisfy the demands of his new employers, supplied the deficiencies from the published translation of Coverdale, after making such corrections and alterations as his very limited time would permit.

Any one at all conversant with the art of book-making can partly understand the character and amount of labour thus performed by Rogers, in connection with the Bible under consideration. The skill, patience, judgment, and perseverance requisite to reduce into anything like order a confused and chaotic mass of literary materials, sometimes hieroglyphics except to him who collected them, and always more or less indistinct and disconnected, can only be fully appreciated by one who has undertaken the task. So far as the actual *work* is concerned, it would be easier to take up the subject afresh. Editing or supervising the half finished MSS. of another, if properly performed, is a far more serious business than original composition. In the present case, Tyndale, while in the

very midst of his labours, had been suddenly and without any warning torn away from his occupation. There had been no opportunity for giving any information or instructions concerning his papers, and, from the very character of his researches, unless he was very different from literary men generally, they must have been in more or less confusion. Although distinct and orderly enough for him, who could perhaps lay his hand at any moment on any line he might require, to a stranger they must have presented a tangled labyrinth, to which only the extremest zeal and patience could discover the proper clew. It was to such a task, under such circumstances, that Rogers devoted himself. How well he accomplished it, posterity is at length beginning to realise and acknowledge. Enough, at least, has been said to prove that he rendered himself worthy of a somewhat more elevated appellation than a mere "corrector of the press."

That the utmost expedition was used, doubtless at Grafton's instigation, is proved by the fact that the entire volume was printed and in England, certainly, by the latter part of July, 1537. Rogers, therefore, could not have been engaged upon it altogether but little more than two years. Doubtless, until Grafton's connection with it, he had laboured zealously and earnestly, but carefully and without haste. When that event occurred cannot be exactly determined, but probably not until he had been a considerable time employed, after which the work must have proceeded more rapidly. It seems clear, however, that he would not, even then, adopt Coverdale's version exactly as it stood, for the alterations, omissions, and additions in the portions of the Matthew Bible attributed to Cover-

dale, although not very numerous, show conclusively that Rogers must have compared them with the original, and, as Mr. Anderson says, "sat in judgment on every page." Neither did he follow Coverdale's arrangement closely, and in one instance he rejected three entire verses not to be found in the Hebrew, which Coverdale had inserted in the fourteenth Psalm, and which he adopted from the Vulgate.* The mere labour of thus examining and revising these portions of the work must have been nearly, if not quite, equivalent to a first translation.

It appears, therefore, that the only names which should properly go down to posterity as the authors of this, the first authorised and recognised English Translation of the Holy Scriptures, and upon which every subsequent version has been based, are those of Tyndale, Frith, and Rogers; and though the latter is placed last in this enumeration, it would be highly erroneous to regard his connection with it as of the least importance. Enough has been said to establish the reverse, and even that the world is indebted to him *alone*, so far as its literary preparation was concerned, for the production of that volume. That there were living, at that time, others who were capable of doing what he did, we may not doubt: that there might have been found some one who would have done it, if he had not, is very probable: but, *he did it.* It might have been that those who had been aiding Tyndale

* This very circumstance shows how Coverdale clung to the Vulgate; for he retained its numerical arrangement of the Psalms, according to which these verses appear in the thirteenth, instead of the fourteenth, and, which is more strange, he did so after inserting a marginal note stating that the original numbering in the Hebrew was different. It may also be mentioned that he unhesitatingly restored the three verses referred to, in the edition of 1539, which he supervised.

were disheartened, and became fearful after he was taken from among them, and that there was no other man besides Rogers, in whom they had confidence, who could thus have stepped into his place ; in which case, by accident, or from prudential motives, those precious MSS. might have been scattered or destroyed. A thousand contingencies might have arisen, and a thousand speculations might now be advanced concerning this subject to no purpose. It is enough to know that the grand work was accomplished, and that the responsibility of it was laid upon the single man — John Rogers — who assumed and sustained it in a manner that entitles his memory to a degree of respect and veneration that has to this day been denied it by the Church and the world. It was to redeem his character in this respect, if possible, from the silent oblivion in which it has hitherto rested, and to show that, in this and other crises of his life, he was even a greater and nobler man than he has heretofore been accounted, that the present volume was written.

It was said that this Bible reached England by the last of July, 1537. This is proved by a letter from Archbishop Cranmer to Lord Crumwell, written on the 4th of August in that year, in which he notifies him that he sends him a copy of it.* He declares that he regards this Translation to be superior to any former one, and does not think that the Bishops can produce a better one (to use his own expressive language) " till a day after doomsday." He speaks of the great care and labour evinced in its preparation, and praises particularly the Dedication to the King, to whom he begs the Minister to present it, and obtain, if possible,

* See Appendix.

the royal license for its publication and free distribution. Certainly, this would seem to have been an extraordinary letter to send to a man, who must naturally have been aggrieved at the recent fate of the similar production of one whom he had been petting and patronising for the past ten years, and proves conclusively one of two things: either that Coverdale's translation must have been regarded, by all parties, as radically imperfect and impracticable; or else that Crumwell was a most remarkable man, in that he could see his protégé so coolly thrust aside, hear his competitor so warmly applauded, and go at once so actively and generously to work, as he did, in behalf of the rival volume: possibly it proves both. Certainly, Crumwell did act thus nobly and promptly, in response to the request of the Archbishop; for, only nine days after, on the 13th of August, Cranmer wrote to him again, thanking him most warmly for having effected the object he desired, and assuring him that his having obtained the King's license for the introduction of this Bible gave him more pleasure than would the gift of a thousand pounds.* Indeed, Cranmer seems to have been greatly overjoyed on account of this success; for, in still another letter to Crumwell, written fifteen days later, on the 28th of August, though chiefly relating to other business, he again repeats his thanks for the service rendered in that behalf.†

Here, then, is a singular state of things. Only a short time before — certainly much less than two years, and probably only a few months — a complete translation of the Bible made its appearance. That also was dedicated to the King, in an address characterised, even

* See Appendix. † Ibid.

by Coverdale's most ardent biographers, as flattering, and even extravagantly fulsome. The friend and patron of the author was the highest civil officer of the realm, possessing almost unbounded influence *, and yet that work failed to attract attention or to receive encouragement. Now a similar volume appears, unheralded, with no powerful friend to proclaim its merits or urge its claims, and only protected by a poor printer who had invested his all in its publication; and yet, it is instantly hailed with almost frantic joy by the Archbishop of Canterbury — the highest religious dignitary in the land, who at once commends it in unmeasured terms to the Prime Minister — the identical patron of the former volume, who in turn presents it promptly to the King himself, and who, apparently without an hour's hesitation, gives it his royal endorsement. Surely, there must have been something more than a mere change in public sentiment to produce this wonderful antithesis. We hear of no especial alteration, during this short interval, in the religious views of either the King, the Minister, or the Archbishop, that can account for it. Apart from the intrinsic merits of the two books themselves, everything was in favour of the first translation; and yet, that fell dead to the ground, while the other as suddenly rose to the highest pinnacle of success.

* Thomas, Lord Crumwell (such is the orthography in most old MSS.), afterwards Earl of Essex, was then in the zenith of his power, having arisen from the humblest station to be Lord Privy Seal, Vicar General and Vicegerent; thus occupying an eminence next only to that of the King himself. His subsequent disgrace and downfall appear to have been unmerited, for no serious charge against him was ever sustained. Though not immaculate, he was probably the best Minister that Henry VIII. ever had. He was beheaded at Tower Hill, July 28th, 1540, having been hurriedly tried, condemned, and attainted, on very frivolous accusations.

It has been attempted (and it is painful to see it where we do) to connect Cranmer in some way with the printers, and to represent him as pecuniarily interested in the publication of this Bible. Not the slightest evidence can be found to sustain a presumption so lame and unkind. The very language of Cranmer, in the letters referred to, cannot be reasonably distorted into anything else than expressions of his grateful delight that, at last, the Sacred Volume had assumed a character that must redound to the glory of God and the spiritual benefit of the world. No: the real secret of Cranmer's rejoicing, of Crumwell's zeal, and of the royal assent, must evidently be looked for in the radical superiority of the Translation itself; and for this assertion ample proof is to be found in the fact that their judgment, at that crisis (whatever the King may have afterwards done), has been confirmed by every succeeding generation to the present time. However translations may have since multiplied, and whatever amount of labour and wisdom may have been expended upon subsequent revisions, *that Bible*—the Bible which John Rogers prepared, and whose publication he superintended—is still the basis of the version now in our churches and our dwellings, and will continue so to be (please God!) until the Book itself has finally accomplished its mission.

Two letters written by Grafton to Lord Crumwell, about this time, throw a little additional light upon the history of this Bible. In the first one, dated August 28th, 1537, evidently having an eye to the results of his pecuniary investment, and seeking to take advantage of the favourable excitement that ruled the hour, (having also previously sent to the Minister six copies of the book, which, although ordered by Crumwell, the shrewd man of business asked him to

accept as a gift), he begged that to the royal license, already publicly announced, might be added the formality of his official seal,—the effect of which would have been equivalent to that of a copyright of the present day. In other words, he desired a monopoly of the publication of the Bible, then and thereafter. The real purport and object of this letter are contained in two or three lines, while the rest of it is a fulsome laudation of the personage to whom it was addressed, amounting in one or two instances almost to blasphemy; for it intimates that the Almighty is *bound* to reward him with His everlasting kingdom, on account of the services he has already rendered, and that He certainly will do so, if he will only be so good as to grant him, Grafton, the monopoly he desires.*

Crumwell appears to have declined this modest request, although urged in such flattering terms, for, in Grafton's second letter, we find him whining most piteously on account of this refusal. He declares that he has invested his whole fortune (five hundred pounds, a large sum in those days) in the undertaking, and issued fifteen hundred copies (then a very large edition) of the work; and that, owing to the favour with which it was received in high quarters, by which a demand for it had been created, others, less conscientious than himself, would print cheaper and imperfect editions, and thus interfere with the profit which he alone ought to receive. But just here he forgets himself, ignores the charge of covetousness which he has brought against his probable competitors, and pleads for the official license, *because* it would be his own "making and wealth." The moral effect of the dissemination of

* See Appendix.

God's Truth is left entirely out of the question, and his own personal aggrandisement is the sole object of his anxiety. Again he coolly presses the Almighty into his service (although he distinctly avers this to be the least consideration), assuring Crumwell of His high favour, if he will but prevent, in the mode which he has indicated, the "undoing of a poor young man." Finally, having exhausted his store of entreaties and arguments to this effect, he somewhat moderates his demands, and suggests another mode by which, if adopted, he foresees that he can dispose of his large stock on hand. This plan consists in compelling the curate of every parish to purchase a copy for the use of his charge, and every abbey no less than six copies, to be laid openly in as many different places for the convenience of the people. And, as if to show that he cared not if those who would really value them were deprived of them entirely, so long as he should reap the profit from their sale, he had the audacity even to propose that "none other but they of the Papistical sort should be compelled to have them;" in which case, he says, those of that class in the Diocese of London alone would nearly exhaust the number that he had left. He evidently thought this an extremely shrewd and captivating proposition, for he assured Crumwell that it would be "a godly act, worthy to be had in remembrance while the world doth stand." *

Crumwell did not, however, agree with him in regard to this master-stroke of policy, but his petition seems to have been so far granted that a royal Proclamation was soon after issued, requiring that a copy of this Bible should be provided by every parish church

* See Appendix.

for the open and free use of the people; the only restriction concerning it being that they should not discuss its merits, and their construction of its doctrines, in public places, but bring their doubts and difficulties to be determined by the regularly appointed preachers and teachers.* One sentence in this Proclamation embodied an important recognition — too soon, alas! subsequently ignored by the vacillating King, but to which he then affixed his royal assent; viz. that all things contained in this book expressed "the undoubted will, law, and commandment of Almighty God." As the translation into the mother-tongue is particularly and alone referred to in this document, it cannot be said that he meant the Sacred Scriptures generally, but designed to express his cordial approbation of this identical version, and the very many new doctrines it enunciated.

This Proclamation probably followed closely upon certain Injunctions issued to the clergy, copies of which have been preserved, and which can be appropriately referred only to about this date. They embrace a variety of matters, but the only paragraphs important to the present history are as follows: —

"Item: That ye shall provide, on this side the feast of N.† next coming, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English‡, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that ye have cure of, where your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it; the charges

* See Appendix.

† I. e. "Natalis," or the Nativity.

‡ So called to distinguish it from Coverdale's Bible, which was considerably smaller; and thus particularly described, in order that the Injunction might not be evaded by any curate who might choose to provide that version, on account of its being less objectionable.

of which book shall be rateably borne between you the parson and the parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you and the other half by them.

"Item: That ye discourage no man privily or apertly* from the reading or hearing of the same Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively Word of God that every Christian man is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he look to be saved; admonishing them, nevertheless, to avoid all contention and altercation therein, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquisition of the true sense of the same, and to refer the explication of the obscure places to men of higher judgment in Scripture." †

Foxe introduced similar items into the Injunctions issued to the clergy in 1536, but this was unquestionably an error, for they do not appear in the official copy in Cranmer's Register, or in other copies little less authoritative. Besides, in 1536, Coverdale's translation was the only one in existence; and, therefore, it would have been unnecessary and idle to insert the definition — "the Bible of the largest volume" — as no other version could possibly have been obtained. The very serious difficulty and confusion into which most writers have been led on this point may be readily solved, by the very reasonable presumption that Crumwell designed the interpolation of Foxe to be embodied in the Injunctions of 1536, with reference to Coverdale's version, but, finding that he could not secure the acceptance of that work, abandoned his intention. This being granted, it is very easy to suppose that Coverdale was in possession of a copy of

* I. e. openly.—*Richardson.*

† Cranmer's Register, fol. 99 *b*.

it, and furnished it to Foxe as an item of history, who, perhaps inadvertently, introduced it as a veritable portion of the document referred to. It seems clear, not only that the Proclamation could refer only to these particular Injunctions, — the latter being privately issued to the clergy, and the former publicly printed or read from the pulpits, — but that at that time there was more than one version in existence; and also that it was determined to enforce the introduction of the Matthew Bible, to the entire exclusion of that of Coverdale.

The probability is that Grafton was thus enabled to dispose of his fifteen hundred copies, doubtless to his great satisfaction and profit, for we hear no further complaint from him, and it is only a year later that we find him in Paris, engaged with Coverdale in making preparations for another edition, which, under the direction or sanction of Crumwell, was to be revised by his old protégé. It may be questioned why Rogers was not again selected for this important work, and there are, at least, two satisfactory answers. Crumwell had the power to employ whom he pleased, and naturally fixed upon his old favourite, because it would tend to his individual benefit; and especially as in this case the labour would really be strictly confined to a correction of the press — the higher authorities themselves positively directing what portions of the Matthew Bible were to be omitted as obnoxious, and what other alterations were to be made. That Coverdale could have done but little more than carry out these instructions, and that even as "corrector of the press" he performed his labours very imperfectly, is proved by the fact that several important errors (evidently typographical), which appeared in the first Matthew Bible of

1537, were overlooked, or, at least, unaltered by him, and were repeated in the edition which he revised, as well as in subsequent ones. Besides, by this time Rogers had become settled as pastor of a congregation in Saxony, and probably would not be induced to leave his charge for a temporary labour that could be properly performed by any ordinary scholar; while his former experience had doubtless convinced him that his own counsel and judgment would not be followed by Grafton, in the second edition, any more than in the first. To these may be added another reason, viz. that he could not safely return to England to consult with the parties interested, as he would be regarded as a married priest, and as such be obnoxious both to Church and State.

So far, therefore, as Rogers is concerned, it is not necessary here to follow particularly the subsequent career of this Translation, as it seems quite certain that he had no further connection with it; unless, indeed, he may have superintended some of the editions afterwards published by John Day and others. Suffice it to say, that no very serious alterations were made by the revisers of the next edition, in the text of the Bible itself. It appears to have been demanded by the opposers of the English version, who still had great influence with the King, that sundry changes should be made, and Cranmer, with his usual leaning to expediency, seems to have readily consented. Therefore, some of the Prefaces and Prologues were withdrawn, as well as the Marginal Notes that had been introduced by Rogers; but, while this concession satisfied its enemies for a time, it did not sensibly affect the integrity of the volume as it left his hands. This and all other translations were indeed suppressed before the close of

Henry's reign, but the seed had already been sown so plentifully, that, like that of the thistle, it was impossible to eradicate it entirely from the soil. The particular edition referred to, nominally superintended by Coverdale, was issued in 1539, being also published by Grafton and Whitchurch; and Mr. Anderson enumerates five other editions, published between this year and 1551. Besides these, five separate editions of the New Testament, of Rogers' version, were printed during that time, in addition to several by other hands. The competition appears to have been too severe for Grafton, who retired from the field a year or two after the disgrace and death of Crumwell; but the poor man did not entirely escape persecution on account of his former connection with the work, being confined in the Fleet prison for six weeks, and only released under the heavy bond of 300*l.*, conditioned that he should neither print or sell any more Bibles, until the King and the clergy should agree upon a translation — a condition with which he appears to have strictly complied.* We find Rogers domiciled with his old partner, Whitchurch, in 1548, and the little volume which he then issued

* Richard Grafton, "citizen and grocer of London," appears to have been of a good family, and was bred a merchant. None of his publications are to be found dated later than 1553, but he seems to have written some works afterwards. Grafton's Chronicle was published in 1569. His device is a good specimen of those practical puns for which the ancient typographers were famous, being "a *tun*, with a fruit-tree issuing out of the bung-hole," indicating *graft-tun*. He is mentioned as being Master of Bridewell, and twice Warden of the Grocer's Company, and is supposed to have been in Parliament on two or three occasions. He appears to have been reduced to extreme poverty in his later life, and we find him, after 1570, proposing to become a public informer, in order to derive the benefit from the fines attached to the infraction of certain statutes concerning the clothworkers. The date of his death is unknown. —*Diary of Henry Machyn. Herbert's and Dibdin's Ames. Strype, &c.*

bears on the title-page their combined monogram, but Whitchurch alone appears as the publisher.*

Although all Bibles were included in the edict of suppression, yet the particular hostility of the Papists appears to have been directed against this Translation, which is alone specified. Being the most correct, it was, of course, the most dangerous,—which clearly accounts for the especial malignity which they afterwards manifested towards the man who had presented it to the world in that condition. Coverdale had not rendered himself so obnoxious. His translation was comparatively harmless, for he appears to have carefully avoided attacking many of their chief doctrines, and to have so construed certain passages as to retain the spirit, and often an exact literal translation, of the language of the Vulgate. It is only necessary to mention the fact that, where the word "repentance" appears in the authorised version, he almost uniformly inserted "penance," and in such a way as to convey to the reader no other meaning than the corporeal suffering enjoined by the Romish Church, instead of the sorrow of heart and penitence of soul required by the Gospel. He had also, with them, the credit of yielding to their demands, and withdrawing the most obnoxious features of the Matthew Bible, when it was revised for a second edition. They evi-

* Edward Whitchurch. He appears to have been originally a merchant, but afterwards joined Grafton, though their connection seems to have been dissolved in 1541. His latest publication extant is dated in 1560. He lived first at "the Well and Two Buckets, in St. Martin's le Grand," then in "St. Mary Aldermary churchyard," and finally at "the Sun, in Fleet Street." He married the widow of Cranmer (who survived him and married again), and, dying in 1561, was buried at Camberwell, on the 1st of December in that year. — *Herbert's and Dibdin's Ames; Coopers' Athenæ Cantabrigienses.*

dently did not fear him or his translation, either then or thereafter; for, although he suffered to some extent during the persecutions of Mary's reign, he does not appear ever to have been in any real danger, nor was he even in prison, and, strangely enough, we find him, only fourteen days after the burning of Rogers, going freely and in safety to the continent, actually the bearer of a letter from Queen Mary herself to the King of Denmark!* What a contrast in the fate of the two men! Are not the conclusions heretofore expressed concerning their respective merits fully justified by the circumstances of their histories? Frankly and honestly, the real truth seems to be that Coverdale was an honest and well-meaning, but a very ordinary, plodding sort of man, like whom there can be ten thousand found any day in London, with no remarkable ability for either good or evil,—and so was enabled, by his own comparative insignificance, to pass safely through the storm that destroyed so many of his more able, and, therefore, more dangerous compeers. His very portrait, if authentic, and if there is any reliance to be placed upon physiognomy and phrenology, will fully sustain this conclusion.

As has been seen, the duties of Rogers, in connection with the first authorised version of the English Bible, were not confined to a mere clerical arrangement of Tyndale's valuable MSS., and a supervision of the mechanical work of its printers. Even a hasty examination of the volume will convince a scholar that he is gazing upon the results of a scholar's attainments and industry. It was no school-boy's task that he accomplished. Apart from the actual labour of placing

* Anderson's Annals.

the text in a complete state, and probably comparing every verse with the original, there was a vast amount of mental effort to be bestowed upon the marginal illustrations which he added, as well as upon the various Prefaces and other articles, prefixed to the whole work, and to individual portions of it. The Marginal Notes alone would fill a volume of considerable magnitude, and there is no reason to suppose that he had any immediate assistance in their preparation. He made, perhaps, some use of the notes of the various German editions, particularly those of Luther and Melancthon, but, with regard to the great portion of them, there is no cause for believing that he drew upon any resources save those of his own mind; while, by adopting and judiciously arranging the others, he made them his own, and became responsible for the whole. Such also appears to have been the received opinion in his own time, and immediately after. That he was identified, from first to last, with the "Thomas Matthew" of that edition, is an undeniable fact, which needs no other proof than that he was so repeatedly styled in the official records connected with his trial; and it is unreasonable to suppose, as some profess to do, that this appellation was then used merely in derision. Gardiner, always bitterly opposed to the English version, and to all who had anything to do with it, had a special meaning in thus addressing him. It was not so much the preacher Rogers, against whom he was so vindictive, as it was the "Thomas Matthew" who had been the means of introducing into England that version of the Sacred Scriptures, which, he was astute enough to foresee, was to be the death blow to his Church and religion; and it was to let that Church and the world know that this, the

greatest enemy that he and the Papacy had yet encountered in England, had received his merited punishment, that he thus unnecessarily added this *alias* to his real name.

But there are other evidences to show, not only that he was thus identified, but that the Popish clergy at that time regarded his Notes and Prefaces as even more dangerous than the text itself. In the list of books prohibited in 1542, as appears in the official Register of Bonner, they are particularly specified, and especially described as of "Thomas Matthew's doing"—the same "Thomas Matthew" whom they afterwards condemned and burned in the person of John Rogers. Furthermore, John Day — the famous printer — and others, in after years, published several editions of the Bible and New Testament, in which they restored the Marginal Notes of the edition of 1537, and described them in the title-pages as the Notes, not of Tyndale, or Coverdale, or of any German writers, but of "Thomas Matthew," whose identity with Rogers had then been, or was soon after, admitted and established, even by the official judgment of the highest authorities in the land.

One thing, therefore, may be said with entire certainty, — that, if Rogers is not entitled to be regarded as the sole author of the first English Translation of the Bible, it may be claimed for him that he prepared and published the first general English Commentary upon it, and thus led the way for his numerous successors in that class of Biblical literature.*

* This claim, the writer is aware, has already been urged in behalf of Tyndale, by one of his recent editors (Rev. Henry Walter, in the Parker Society's edition of Tyndale's Expositions and Notes); but, after his most zealous exertions, he could collect together only about nine octavo pages of these annotations, while those of Rogers would fill a considerable volume. These few notes by Tyndale appear to have had

But Rogers had not finished his labours when he completed the annotations recently described. There was still another work to be performed, quite as important, and destined to be equally obnoxious to the enemies of the truth. People in those days were not so intellectual readers as they are now. The Bible itself was a ponderous folio, and had hitherto been a sealed book to the great mass of the world. Even the most intelligent would be likely to overlook the importance of some portions of it, while it would be very difficult for the more ordinary readers to refer readily to such particular subjects as, from time to time, they might desire. Therefore, Rogers sat down to prepare and arrange what he afterwards called "A Table of the Principal Matters contained in the Bible, in which the Readers may find and practise many Common Places." * An ordinary list of contents would not have answered the purpose required, unless it had been very voluminous, nor would it have accomplished the ultimate object which he had in view. So he made a selection of words and subjects most likely to be generally interesting and important, arranged them alphabetically, and appended to them references to appropriate passages of Scripture, tending to elucidate their meaning and aid their improvement. That he was also greatly assisted in this portion of his work by the previous labours of the German editors, there is little doubt. It is not claimed that the idea originated with him, or that he did not follow in their footsteps, in many particulars. It is not his connection with the Bible, *per se*, with which

little or no circulation, and it will be seen by examination that Rogers retained very few of them. Technically, Tyndale wrote the first few English notes, but Rogers prepared the first general English Commentary.

* See Appendix, p. 382.

we have to deal, but with the English Bible and its adjuncts.

This Table occupies no less than twenty-six folio pages, and could not have been prepared without great care and labour. It combines, as far as it extends, the characters of a Dictionary, a Concordance, and a Commentary. It attracts attention to certain words, phrases, sentiments, and doctrines, defines and explains them, and refers the reader to the proper texts for their support and defence. Every line and sentence thus becomes the suggestive starting point from which the reader can easily pursue his investigations, and readily establish the doctrine involved, in order to confirm his own faith or that of others. Unquestionably, the chief object which he had in view was to direct particular attention to those portions of the Bible which were in plain opposition to the then distinctive doctrines of the Romish Church, for they have a marked prominence throughout the Table; especially in reference to the mass, the real presence, and the marriage of priests. These, at that time, were the three grand subjects in dispute between that Church and the Reformers, and any successful attack upon the doctrines concerning them, as held by the Romish clergy, was properly regarded as equivalent to the ultimate destruction of their whole system. Therefore, it was not enough that the Bible itself should be placed before English readers in the language which they could comprehend, and the Popish clergy be left to expound the difficult passages to the people as they pleased, but it was of infinite importance, in furthering the movements of the Reformation, that their attention should be especially directed to those particular portions of it which were in direct conflict with the teachings of those priests. The ex-

treme value of this Table, at that time, is, therefore, readily perceived. Not only was each reader enabled to satisfy his own mind in reference to the real doctrines of the Bible on those points, but he was also provided with the ready means of confuting his ordinary antagonists, and even the priests themselves, whenever discussion should arise concerning them. Of however little comparative value this Table may appear to be at the present day, since it has been superseded by similar more voluminous works, it was then one of great importance, and also serves to present Rogers to us in still another character. As he was the author of the first general English Commentary upon the Bible, so was he also the author of the first English Concordance, and his claims to these titles can no longer be disregarded or disallowed.

To show that the writer is not making these two matters of too much consequence, he appeals, according to what is to be his usual custom, to the Papists themselves. After the publication of the Matthew Bible, when Gardiner and his followers found it useless to contend against the introduction of the English version of the Scriptures itself, against what was their hostility directed? Why, solely and unequivocally, against Rogers' Marginal Notes and Table of Common Places, and of course the Prologues by Tyndale which he had adopted. They had not strength enough to crush the Bible itself, nor was it so necessary, when it was provided by a royal edict that their own priests should be the sole expounders of it; but they could and did succeed in interdicting these obnoxious additions, which were evidently, at that time, more dangerous to their cause, for the reasons stated, than the rest of the volume. Again, when the official pro-

hibition of dangerous books was issued in 1542, as appears by Bonner's Register, these very Notes and this identical Table were particularly specified, and separated from the rest of the volume in which they were contained,—thus furnishing an undisguised confession that they, and not the Bible itself, were what the authors of that prohibition had most to fear. If such facts as these do not show conclusively that the peculiar labours of Rogers, and their importance and effect upon the movements of the Reformation, entitle him to more credit than he has hitherto received, the writer must confess that he is entirely unacquainted with the value of evidence.

Much regret has been expressed that Rogers retained the books of the Apocrypha, in the edition of the Bible which he superintended. The probability is that he was not allowed to control this matter, and that these books were inserted in accordance with the requirements of the publishers. The reasons for this belief are very plain, and, it would seem, conclusive. First, while his Notes are to be found everywhere else throughout the volume, not a solitary one appears from the commencement to the end of the Apocrypha. Secondly, his Address to the Reader, prefacing the Apocryphal books*, is, from the first line to the last, a distinct and positive protest against their being received otherwise than as uninspired. The translation is unmistakably that of Coverdale. It was determined that it should not be omitted, and Rogers took it as he found it, and so left it, paying no further attention to it than to add a slight formal synopsis to each chapter, but insisting upon attaching to it an endorsement of his

* See Appendix, p. 383.

disapproval, in the terms of his prefatory protest. It is a little singular that this Preface of Rogers to the Apocrypha should have been retained in the Cranmer Bible of 1539, instead of the original one by Coverdale; but it must have been done by the direction of Coverdale's superiors. Yet, from some unaccountable cause, he contrived to effect a single alteration, changing the word "Apocripha," whenever it appeared, to the more pedantic and uncouth one of "Hagiographa."*

The Dedication to King Henry VIII. next demands our attention.† It occupies three pages, and is signed with Rogers' assumed name — "Thomas Matthew." Dedications were of more importance in those days than they are now, and it is to be regretted that the system has fallen so greatly into disuse. It is a beautiful custom, when it is resorted to for the purpose of enabling the author to testify publicly his respect or affection for an esteemed patron or friend. In the early days of book-making it was carried to excess, one half of the volume, in some instances, being occupied by the dedications, prefaces, complimentary epistles, &c. As a general thing, especially when addressed to the nobility, they were verbose and flattering to an extent that would now be called fulsome, but which appears to have been then perfectly proper and decorous. Under these circumstances, the character of Rogers' Dedication to the personage whom he recognised, not only as his

* Mr. Lewis says that this name was occasioned by the Apocryphal books "being so called in St. Hierome's Prefaces to Tobie and Judith, as we now have them," and that, "this title being favourable to the Papists' notion of these books being a part of the canon, or of authority in matters of faith, it is no wonder that it is countenanced by them." (*History of the Translations of the Bible*, pp. 126-7.) If this be so, it looks very much as if Coverdale designedly consulted their taste in adopting it.

† See Appendix, p. 375.

temporal master, but as the supreme head of his Church, is remarkable. While acknowledging him with a suitable reverence, and recounting in strong language the many graces attributed to him, there is preserved throughout the address a degree of dignity highly creditable to himself and complimentary to his sovereign. He neither forgot that he was a subject, or failed to remember that he was also a minister of that Holy Word which he thus presented for his acceptance. The spirit in which it was written clearly indicates that he had reason to believe that it would be favourably received, and he approached his royal master in an overflow of grateful feeling and joyful confidence that in him, the avowed Defender of the Faith, the beloved work upon which he had been engaged would find an earnest and competent protector. In reality, he preached an admirable sermon to the King, while not appearing to do so, and it cannot be doubted that it was graciously received by that monarch. Cranmer's testimony concerning it has been already noticed, and it is not unfair to presume that it must have exerted some influence in obtaining so promptly the royal sanction for the publication of the book.

Besides the articles already mentioned as prefixed to the Matthew Bible, and which there can be no hesitation in attributing to Rogers, two more remain for our consideration. One of them, occupying two pages, is called "The Sum and Contents of all the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament."* As indicated by this title, it embraces a brief but comprehensive synopsis of the doctrines of the Bible, and, although written in the somewhat obscure or pedantic style of

* See Appendix, p. 371.

those times, may very properly be entitled the Sum of Christianity,—for it includes every point of importance recognised or required by the Christian religion.

The other is "An Exhortation to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, gathered out of the Bible,"* and is contained in a single page. It is composed exclusively of verses selected from various portions of the Bible, consecutively and judiciously arranged. At the bottom are the initials "I. R." (for John Rogers), in large capital letters, and this is the only instance throughout the volume where Rogers personally appears.

These last two articles were retained in the Cranmer edition of 1539, probably because there was nothing in them particularly obnoxious to the Papists, and perhaps partly in compliment to Rogers, whose other contributions to the work had been so completely ignored.

It now only remains to notice the Title-page, which is done for but one purpose. Its language is very simple, viz.: "The Bible, which is all the Holy Scriptures: in which are contained the Old and New Testaments, *truly and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew.*" If "Thomas Matthew" was not identical with Rogers, who was he? It is idle to assume, as some have done, that this name was subsequently applied to the Martyr merely in derision; and equally so to presume, with others, that a Thomas Matthew had been a leading patron of the work, without producing some slight apparent evidence that such a man existed. It would seem that Rogers' judges, who certainly had the means of knowing the facts, had sufficiently settled the question of identity, without leaving room for any dispute upon the subject, at this

* See Appendix, p. 370.

late day. Yet, even Mr. Anderson, after all his researches, but without a shadow of authority, seemed to think that Matthew might have been one of the Antwerp Merchants, who had aided pecuniarily in the prosecution of the work, and desired thus to perpetuate his own name. He had an undoubted right to form any presumption that pleased him, and the present writer claims the same liberty,—trusting, however, that he will be able to offer a more reasonable and satisfactory one. He thinks that the responsibility must again be placed upon Grafton. It was desirable that the work should not appear anonymously, for, at least, the Dedication to the King — probably a very important matter in his estimation — should be signed with a name, even if only a fictitious one. Tyndale, who certainly had the best title to the honour, was dead, but his name and memory were still odious to the Papists. Coverdale was not to be thought of, for he had just signally failed in a similar undertaking. Rogers, the only other man who had any right to the distinction, doubtless said, — "It is not all mine: I cannot conscientiously assert such a comprehensive claim to the authorship." Therefore, to compromise the matter, a fictitious name was determined upon, and, if the decision was left to Rogers, he perhaps chose two at random; or, more probably, selected two of his favourite Scripture characters. There surely need be no mystery made of this matter. "Thomas Matthew" was neither purely a myth or a real personage, but simply a pseudonym, under which it was deemed best that the book should make its appearance.

A more technical and particular description of the Matthew Bible may be acceptable, and will, with the extracts given elsewhere, serve to convey to the reader

a tolerably correct idea of its appearance and character. A recent writer says: "It is evidently of foreign workmanship, but the place of its execution is not ascertained: Antwerp, Hamburgh, and Lubeck, are all named."* For the reasons hitherto stated, there does not seem to be any necessity for going beyond Antwerp. The same writer says that the two large wood-engravings, viz. the Title and "Adam and Eve," were "struck from the blocks which had been used in a Dutch Bible, printed at Lubeck, in 1533,"—a fact which he had ascertained by a careful comparison. There is no difficulty in supposing that these blocks were purchased, or borrowed, and transferred to Antwerp. He also characterises it as an "elegant edition of the Bible," although it contains some few errors and omissions (purely typographical, it is supposed) which, unfortunately, were continued in many subsequent editions. The following is a synopsis of its contents:—

Title, "The Byble, which is all the holy Scripture: In whych are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament truly and purely translated into Englysh by Thomas Matthew. Esaye l. Hearcken to ye heauens and thou earth geaue eare: For the Lorde speaketh. M.D.XXXVII." This Title, which is printed in red and black colours, is in the centre of a fine wood engraving which fills the entire page. At the bottom, in large characters, are the words — "Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lycēce." On the reverse is a short Table of Contents. Then follows a Calendar and Almanac for eighteen years, beginning with the year 1538, occupying four pages. "An exhortacyon to the studye of the holy Scrypture," &c., in red and black

* Rev. Henry Cotton's Editions of the Bible, &c. 1852.

letters, is contained in the next page, and has at the foot, in large flourished text capitals, the letters "I. R." (for John Rogers). Commencing on the reverse, and embracing two pages, is "The summe and content of all the holy Scripture," &c. Then follows the Dedication to King Henry VIII., occupying three pages, with flourished text capitals at the beginning and end. The succeeding twenty-six pages are devoted to "A table of the pryncypall matters conteyned in the Byble," &c. (the Concordance before described), to which is prefixed a short address "To the Chrysten Readers." The next page contains "The names of all the bokes of the Byble," &c., and "A brief rehersall of the yeares passed sence the begynnynge of the worlde," &c. On the reverse, occupying the whole page, is a large wood-engraving, representing Adam and Eve in Paradise. The books from Genesis to "Salomon's Ballett," inclusive, embrace four hundred and ninety-three pages. After one blank page, the new numbering here commences, with a new Title — "The Prophetes in Englysh" — also in black and red letters, and surrounded by sixteen wood-cuts, together filling the page. On the reverse is a large wood-cut, between the letters "R. G." and "E. W.", in flourished text capitals. The books from Isaiah to Malachi occupy one hundred and eighty-eight pages, and have at the end the letters "W. T." Next follows another Title — "The volume of the bokes called Apocripha, conteyned in the comen Transl. in Latyne, which are not founde in the Chalde," &c.* This is also printed in red and black, and is surrounded by fifteen wood-cuts. On the reverse is the address "To the Reader"

* This very Title is, in itself, a solemn and distinct protest by Rogers against these books being received as inspired.

which has already been mentioned.* The Apocryphal Books, including the title, &c., are comprised in one hundred and sixty-two pages. A blank leaf precedes the Title — "The Newe Testament of oure sauyour Jesu Christ, newly and dylygently translated into Englyshe, with annotacions in the Mergent to helpe the Reader to the understandynge of the Texte. Prynted in the yere of our Lorde God, M.D.XXXVII." This Title is also in red and black, and within the same engraving prefixed to the Old Testament. The reverse is blank. The New Testament occupies two hundred and seventeen pages. Five pages are then devoted to "Tables of the Epistles and Gospels after Salsbury use;" and, on the next and last leaf, are the words — "The ende of the Newe Testament, and of the whole Byble. To the honoure and prayse of God was this Byble prynted and fynesshed in the yere of oure Lorde God, A. MD.XXXVII."

The entire volume comprises one thousand one hundred and ten folio pages, with double columns, each column containing sixty lines, and is printed entirely in black letter. The size of the printed page (embracing the text only) is exactly eleven and a quarter by six and a half inches: including the marginal notes, running titles, and signatures, it is twelve by eight and three-eighths inches. The Canticles are printed in red and black. There are seventy-eight wood-cuts in various parts of the book, two of which, at the commencement of the Psalms and Proverbs, extend the entire width of the page. Those in the Revelation have around them a double border of flowers. The Psalms are arranged in five books. The whole Bible is

* See also the address itself in the Appendix, p. 383.

divided into chapters, and the chapters into paragraphs, but not into verses according to the present version; which fact accounts for the custom in those days of referring to Scriptural passages by the chapters only in which they appeared. In the table of the books, those of Chronicles are also styled "Paralippomenon;" the Song of Solomon, "Salomon's Ballett," or "Canticum Canticorum;" Isaiah, "Esaye;" Jeremiah, the "Lamentations of Jeremye," or "Threnorum;" Ezekiel, "Ezechiel," or "Jehezekiell," &c.

But comparatively few copies of the original edition of 1537 escaped destruction, and, of those that have been preserved, a perfect one is rarely to be met with. The British Museum possesses three copies, one of which is nearly perfect. The paper on which this is printed is of a yellow colour. Other copies are to be found in the Bristol Museum, and in the Bodleian, Lambeth, and other public libraries, and occasionally, but very seldom, in private collections.

It was upon a copy of this edition of the Matthew Bible that one Thornton, many years ago, perpetrated the singularly stupid mutilations and forgeries, by which the Duke of Lauderdale was the immediate victim. By careful erasures and additions, he made the volume appear to have been printed in 1520, and effected a strange transformation in the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans, causing it to read, "Paul, *a knave* of Jesus Christ," &c. The whole story is given by Lewis, but it is hardly worth perpetuating, although it seemed proper to refer to it in this connection.*

* The identical copy containing this forgery was shown to the writer by Mr. George Offor, of South Hackney; in whose library he also found the choicest collection of Bibles (comprising almost every edition ever published) that it has been his good fortune to examine. Not the least interesting and valuable among his Biblical treasures are a number of Tyndale's own autograph MSS.

In an American publication, dated so late as the year 1858, the writer relates his examination of a Bible then in the possession of one of his friends, which he declares to be not only a copy of this edition, but also the identical copy once owned by the Martyr himself, and bequeathed by him to his eldest son, whose descendants subsequently removed to that country. He also states that, when its first American owner travelled among the Indians, he always carried it with him as "an amulet to keep off the devil and the savages," making it his pillow at night, and *wearing it in his bosom* by day. When this writer and his readers are informed that the volume measures fourteen and a half inches in length, ten and a half in width, and three in thickness, they will see that, however it may have served its possessor as a pillow, it could hardly have been worn in his bosom, unless that part of his physical frame was of Brobdignagian proportions. It is to be feared that many other transatlantic traditions concerning the Martyr are quite as baseless as is this.

CHAPTER III.

FIVE YEARS PRECEDING THE PERSECUTIONS.

Accession of Edward VI. — Return of Religious Exiles. — Rogers comes Home. — His Motives. — Translates and publishes a Work by Melancthon. — Story of Joan of Kent. — Foxe's Discrepancies. — This reproachful Incident in Rogers' History discussed and disposed of. — He does not deserve its odious Responsibility. — Probable Causes why placed upon him. — Becomes Vicar of St. Sepulchre's and Rector of St. Margaret Moyses. — What those Preferments indicated. — Refutation of the common Error that Ridley was his Patron. — Becomes a Prebendary of St. Paul's and Rector of Chigwell. — Not indebted to Ridley for his Prebend. — Resigns Rectorship of St. Margaret Moyses. — Review of Ridley's Letters and Conduct. — Historical Error corrected. — Is always in Grindall's Way. — His Fellow Officials in St. Paul's and Successors in the Prebend. — Is chosen Divinity Lecturer. — Ancient and modern Character of that Office. — His honest Boldness leads him into a Difficulty with the Authorities. — His Nonconformity. — He procures a special Act of Parliament naturalising his Wife and Children. — Meagreness of his History up to this Period.

The accession of Edward VI. to the throne of England, January 28th, 1547, was the beginning of a new era in the history of the country, and especially of the Church, and was the welcome signal heralding the safety of return to many who had absented themselves, from religious motives, during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. Some hastened home immediately, while others tarried until they saw that the character of the Government surrounding the boy-King was such as to justify them in so doing. Perhaps Rogers was not influenced by this latter motive, and delayed only from a dislike to sever suddenly his con-

nexion with his German congregation, and an unwillingness to part from his friend Melancthon and others to whom he had become attached. The precise time of his return to England is not known. Some writers assume that it occurred very early in the reign of Edward VI., while others assert that he came in consequence of a special invitation from Bishop Ridley, who tendered him certain preferments which he afterwards held. But Ridley was not translated from the See of Rochester to that of London until the 12th of April, 1550, and we have positive evidence that Rogers was in London as early as the first of August, 1548; for he dated the Preface to his Translation of Melancthon's "Weighing of the Interim" on that day, and added further, "at London, in Edward Whitchurch's house," where he appears to have been then residing.

This work was doubtless a grateful tribute to his friend Melancthon, whose society in Saxony he had but recently left, while it served as a direct denial to the rumours then promulgated, that the German Reformer had abandoned the Protestant faith and gone back to Popery. The spirit of the work is more to be admired than its subject matter or the manner of its treatment, and it possesses little interest at the present day. At the time of its publication, however, it was undoubtedly of great importance, and it is often referred to in contemporaneous literature. A perfect copy is preserved in the British Museum. It comprises only forty-six small pages, and is all in black letter. The Preface by Rogers has been before reprinted, but with various alterations and omissions. The copy of the entire work which is given in the Appendix is literal, even to the arrangement of the sentences. In the first paragraph of the Preface, Rogers would seem to have fore-

shadowed the constancy and firmness which he himself was afterwards to manifest, when the true faith should be persecuted in his own person, although, at that time, he had every reason to suppose that the religion then recognised and encouraged by Edward would remain permanently that of the land.

Some think that he may then have been paying a mere visit to England, in order to judge for himself of the practicability of removing his family hither, as it is hardly probable that he, his wife, and eight children would have been, for a considerable time, the guests of a poor publisher—for we have evidence elsewhere that Whitchurch was not a rich man. It is certain that he himself was in London at that time, and then produced the little volume described. But we hear nothing further of him until he received the preferments mentioned, in May, 1550. Before referring to them, however, it becomes necessary, in the order of time, to notice an incident in the history of Rogers, the only original account (and almost the only one) of which is to be found in the Latin edition of Foxe, and which may be freely translated as follows: —

"And whereas, that we may the more profit by the history of those things which have been done in the Church, in which history nothing of importance should be omitted, something, perhaps not undeserving the attention of the reader, occurs to me here, concerning that Joan of Kent, of whom we have just made mention. When now her death had been certainly determined upon by the evangelical Bishops, a familiar friend of his went to John Rogers, who at that time presided over the theological lectureship in St. Paul's Cathedral, exhorting and beseeching him that he would use his utmost influence with the Archbishop of Canterbury,

that, her error being as far as possible chastised and restrained, the life at least of the unhappy woman might be spared; urging that perhaps in time she would be cured of her fault, and that, although while she lived she would corrupt a few persons only, her suffering death for her opinions might induce many others to think well of them. Hence, he pleaded, it would be much more advisable that she should be retained somewhere in close custody, where she should not have access to persons of weak minds, and thus, while she would be prevented from contaminating others, she would herself have an opportunity for repentance. When Rogers, after this appeal, declared himself still of the opinion that she ought to suffer death, his friend renewed his entreaties, praying that, if her errors must be wrested from her only with her life, some other mode of death might be selected, more in accordance with the gentleness and mercy taught in the Gospel, and protesting against the introduction into the Christian code of justice, in imitation of the Papists, the horrors of a death so tormenting. But Rogers again declared this form of punishment, by which men are burned alive, to be the least agonising of all, and sufficiently gentle. The other, immediately on hearing this speech of the man, which savoured so little of care and regard for the agonies of the unfortunate wretch, in a great passion of spirit, smote Rogers' hand, which he had been grasping closely, and said,—'Well, perchance you may yet find that you, yourself, shall have your hands full of this so gentle fire.' And afterwards, that very Rogers himself, the first of all those who perished under the persecutions of Mary, experienced a speedy retribution." *

* Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum, p. 202.

This is the bugbear which seems to have frightened nearly every writer who has heretofore given any account of Rogers, and which has been approached in the most timid and delicate manner by those who have referred to it at all, with a single exception. Mr. Peirce was the first to give it to the world in an English dress, nearly a century and a half ago, and, while otherwise speaking of Rogers in the highest terms, he characterised this incident in his life as a barbarity that deserved to be exposed, especially because God, in his providence, seemed to have shown his displeasure against it.*

Why Foxe suppressed this narrative in his own English editions, can be accounted for only on the supposition heretofore made, that it was either to spare the memory of the Martyr and the feelings of his immediate relatives, or else that so harsh a fact should not go down to posterity in connection with the history of the Protestant Reformation. If it was true at Basle in 1559, it was also true in England in 1563; and Foxe deserved to be called to account for violating the principle set forth in his own preamble to the narration, viz., that, in the history of what was done in the Church, nothing of importance should be passed by in silence. It would perhaps have been better if the record had never been made; but, having been uttered, it should be met boldly and treated as it deserves. It is no such frightful matter, after all. If Foxe received the particulars of the conversation described from another's lips, he may very justly be suspected of exaggeration, or, at least, of highly colouring its features. If, on the other hand,

* Vindication of the Dissenters, by James Peirce, 1717, part i. pp. 32-3.

as seems not improbable, he was himself the "familiar friend" mentioned, he was perhaps guilty of a little vain boasting, and at the same time anxious to class the fact, that Rogers finally experienced the same mode of death which he had formerly commended for its mildness, in the category of his special providences or remarkable retributions. That it was entirely a fiction, we perhaps have no right to imagine; for, had Foxe subsequently discovered it to be untrue, he certainly should have put some retraction upon record, instead of simply suppressing it, and trusting that it would eventually pass into oblivion.

It will be noticed that Foxe speaks of Rogers as Divinity Lecturer at St. Paul's, at the time this conversation took place. But Joan of Kent was burned on the 2nd of May, 1550, and Rogers was not made a Prebendary of St. Paul's until the 24th of August, 1551,—more than a year and a quarter later,—and was not chosen Divinity Reader until some time after that date. This is a most remarkable discrepancy, which has induced many to discredit the entire story; and, in connection with other statements of Foxe in relation to the same subject, since proved to be errors*, might almost justify us in pronouncing it, as some do,

* It will be necessary to mention only a single one. It is stated that Cranmer pleaded, with all his energy, with Edward VI., before that young monarch could be induced to sign the warrant for Joan's execution; and that he did sign it, only after calling God to witness that Cranmer, as his spiritual adviser, must bear all the blame of that act, here and hereafter. This scene has been, even within the current year, thrillingly represented in an engraving, illustrating a work claiming to be an authentic history. Modern researches have established, not only the fact that Edward did not sign the warrant at all, and the probability that he was never asked to do so, but also that Cranmer himself was absent from the Council when the fatal document was executed. The memory of that Prelate must, therefore, be so far relieved from the odium still attached to that act.

a sheer fabrication; but it does not necessarily invalidate the other particulars, and it is better to meet it fairly. Foxe knew that Rogers had been Divinity Lecturer at St. Paul's, but evidently did not know, or had forgotten, the exact date of his appointment to that office, and we may presume that he mentioned this fact, merely in order to identify the person of whom he was writing. It is hard to believe that he intended to hold him forth to the scorn and reproach of his readers, for, in other portions of his writings, he gives a very flattering account of him. At all events, the record was made, and still exists. Let us see what it amounts to.

This Joan Bocher, or Knel, commonly called Joan of Kent, would have been, at the present day, a very harmless sort of personage — a woman entertaining certain very peculiar notions, unimportant in themselves, and by no means likely to endanger the peace of the community, or the stability of the Church. By most people, she would be pronounced insane, and be pitied for her infirmity; while, if she did induce a few of her own class to imagine that they appreciated her doctrines, the result would probably make them neither better nor worse. It is only when such characters are persecuted that they acquire any importance. If unmolested, their vagaries speedily perish, for want of the sustenance afforded by opposition. It is very difficult to understand what she really did profess to believe, and various accounts have been given of the sentiments which she promulgated, but it will be safest to adopt the official charge upon which she was convicted. The language of the record in the Archbishop's Register, according to Strype, was as follows:—

"That you believe that the Word was made flesh in the Virgin's belly; but, that Christ took flesh of the Virgin, you believe not, because the flesh of the Virgin, being the outward man, was sinfully gotten and born in sin: but the Word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh." *

The writer thinks it would puzzle the present Archbishop of Canterbury to summon a judicial Convocation, from any portion of his Diocese, that would not rather convict the authors of this bewildering charge, of at least temporary insanity, than the person against whom it was preferred, of dangerous heresy. How such men as were the magnates of the Church, even at that day, could have magnified such trivial eccentricities into a crime of the highest class, it is almost impossible to conceive. Yet Cranmer, and Latimer, and Ridley, and others of their stamp did so, and the more severity they used towards her, the more perversely she persisted in her alleged errors. She was tried in solemn conclave, and judicially excommunicated by Cranmer himself, the King's Commissioners assisting in the ceremony. Latimer afterwards, perhaps finding some apology necessary for the harshness with which she had been treated, attempted it in the following blundering manner:—

"She would say," said he, "that our Saviour was not very man, nor had received flesh of his mother Mary, and yet she could show no reason why she believed so. Her opinion was this: the Son of God (said she) penetrated through her as through a glass, taking no substance of her." †

* Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, Oxford, 1812, vol. i. p. 258.
† Ibid.

From this it would appear that she was condemned, not so much on account of the peculiar opinions which she entertained, as because she could give no reason for them — a task which we may imagine would be rather difficult. The very memory of the transaction is a sorry one, and the bare idea revolting, that those Fathers of the Church, whom posterity has been taught to venerate, were once to be seen combined and engaged, in such frightful odds, against a single wretched and probably insane woman.

The best answer that can be given to the charge so made against her is found in the very language of the poor creature herself. After her condemnation, both Cranmer and Ridley visited her daily, and vainly endeavoured to induce her to recant. The fatal warrant was finally issued, and the day appointed when she was to be burned, in the language of the official record, "for certain detestable opinions of heresy." From the accounts of the final scene, she evidently evinced quite as much firmness as did her own judges a few years afterwards, and was as much a martyr for her religious opinions as they were for theirs. When the sentence of condemnation was pronounced, she said to the tribunal:—

"It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It was not long ago since you burned Anne Askew* for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrines for which you burned her. And now, forsooth, you will burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will

* Anne Askew, or Ascough, who was burned in the reign of Henry VIII.; her chief heresy being a denial of the real presence in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them."*

No one will deny that this quotation is a far more sensible one than either of the other two.

But the question arises, why was John Rogers particularly selected to go down to posterity with the odium attached to this sad transaction? He was not one of her judges, and we have no right to suppose that he had any power or influence in the matter. She was in the hands of the law. She was tried under a legal Commission issued by the King himself. The regular official routine, common in such cases, was pursued. When the Church had done with her, she was handed over legally to the secular power. The punishment for the offence of which she had been found guilty was death, and the same law decided that the mode of execution should be by burning. Rogers might just as well have been asked to intercede for all the criminals then in prison, convicted of stealing, or treason, or murder. He might, indeed, have couched his refusal in more gracious language than that imputed to him by Foxe, and it would certainly have been more gratifying if he had consented to make the effort requested, even although he knew it would be useless. It is easy enough to say what we would or would not have done, in such a case, at the present day; but the real question is, what should we have said and done, if we had been the actors in those times and under those circumstances? What are now trivial errors, were then regarded as serious crimes. A jury could not to-day be found in all England that would

* Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, Oxford, 1822, vol. ii. part i. p. 334.

convict a man on an indictment for sheep-stealing, if the penalty to follow were death; and yet, but a few years have passed since it was done daily. This severe treatment for religious offences was the error of the times, rather than of men, or sects, and history shows that it had been resorted to by all parties in power, from time immemorial. Neither Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, or Rogers, was so far advanced in the true appreciation of Gospel light and liberty, as to be entirely free from the common failings of their fellow-men. They were contending for great principles and aiming at great ends, and anything that stood in the way of their success and attainment must be removed. What to us appears so trifling, in the opposition of Joan of Kent, seemed to them of great moment. Under the circumstances then existing, the spread of such sentiments, even to a limited extent, might have been attended with great danger to the cause which they were labouring so earnestly to establish. An example must be made, to deter others from imitating her perverseness. She had evidently been the most prominent in propagating heretical notions, and thus became the victim. Such would probably be the explanation they would give us, if they could, and it certainly is the only one that can now be made.

It may be presumed that the conversation related by Foxe took place, if at all, shortly before Rogers received his first preferments, and so near that time that Foxe, when writing, confusedly made the chronological blunder mentioned. He says distinctly that it was after her death had been positively determined upon. It appears that she was actually condemned in the latter part of the year 1549, but lay in prison until the 27th of April, 1550, on which day the warrant for

her execution was signed, which may be regarded as the final determination of her fate. Probably the incident occurred during the five days that intervened between that day and the one of her burning.

From this account, if we accept it as authentic, it would appear that Rogers was, even then, a man of considerable importance, occupying relations of familiarity and influence with the Archbishop and others in authority; and, to have acquired such a position, he must have already been in the country for some time. Evidently the date of his return may be safely fixed as early as the middle of 1548. It does not appear how he was engaged during the two years immediately following his arrival. He certainly was not officially connected with any church, but, from his character, we may be well assured that he was not idle.

On the 10th of May, 1550, he was presented simultaneously to the Rectory of St. Margaret Moyses and the Vicarage of St. Sepulchre, both in London. The patronage was, in both cases, directly in the Crown, but the presentation to St. Sepulchre, according to Newcourt, was made by "Nicof. Yertswort, *pro hac vice*,"—probably identical with Nicasius Yetswiert, whose daughter was subsequently the wife of Daniel Rogers, one of the sons of the Martyr. He succeeded to the Rectory of St. Margaret Moyses on the death of Robert Johnson, and to the Vicarage of St. Sepulchre on that of William Copeland.*

This church of St. Margaret (to which was commonly added "Moyses"—afterwards corrupted into "Moses"—from the fact that a person of that name had been

* Newcourt's Repertorium, vol i. pp. 402, &c., and 530, &c.

one of its considerable benefactors) then stood on the east side of Friday Street, "over against Distaff Lane end," and was sometimes called "St. Margaret in Friday Street." It was founded by one Robert Fitzwalter, and given by him, in 1105, to the Priory of St. Faith, of Horsham, in Norfolk, in whose possession it remained until seized by Richard II., May 31st, 1386, from which time the patronage continued in the Crown. Rogers was the thirty-eighth Rector in succession. The building was destroyed in the Great Fire, after which the parish was annexed to that of St. Mildred, and the church of that name in Bread Street now represents both parishes. One part of the original site was sold to the city, for the purpose of widening an alley between Friday and Bread Streets, and the proceeds of the sale were expended upon improving St. Mildred: the other portion remained as a burying place for the inhabitants of the old parish.* Some of the books of St. Margaret were preserved, and are still kept among the records of St. Mildred, but, unfortunately, their first date is in 1559, about eight years after the Martyr's connection with that church.

The history of the church of St. Sepulchre reaches back, at least, to a date early in the twelfth century. Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, in the reign of Henry I., gave it to the Priory of St. Bartholomew, in West Smithfield, and the grant was confirmed by charter of Henry III. It was variously called "St. Sepulchre's without Newgate," or "in the Bayley," or "by Chamberlain-gate." The edifice was rebuilt about the reign of Henry VI., or Edward IV. The Priory held the patronage until its suppression, after which it remained

* Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. pp. 402, &c.

with the Crown until, and some time after, the period of this history. Rogers was the eighteenth Vicar in succession, and the position was probably one of the most lucrative in the gift of the Crown; for the yearly profits were, in 1636, no less than 440*l.*, of which the Vicar's portion was 180*l.* (no inconsiderable sum in those days) and a parsonage house.* This fact is worthy of notice, as indicating the estimation in which Rogers was then held in the highest quarters. So valuable a Vicarage, another Rectory, and, shortly afterwards, a Prebendal stall in the Cathedral church, would certainly not have been bestowed upon any common man; especially upon one so poor as he was, and who had returned to England a comparative stranger to those who might have aided him by their wealth and influence. These presentations must have been made to him on account of his superior personal character and abilities.

This church, excepting the walls and the tower, was also destroyed in the Great Fire, and all the then existing records perished with it; so that in neither of the parishes in which Rogers ministered is even so little as his bare signature to be found.

Ridley, as has been seen, became Bishop of London on the 12th of April, 1550; but it was not until the 24th of August, 1551, that Rogers was appointed to the Prebendal stall of St. Pancras, then vacant by the death of John Royston.† This does not indicate that that Bishop had been mainly instrumental in recalling him to England, as has been often asserted. There is no doubt that they were well known to each other from their earlier days, for Ridley was educated at

* Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. pp. 530, &c.
† Ibid., vol. i. p. 196.

Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, of which he was chosen Fellow in 1524, and they must therefore have been in college together. That Bishop must also have been aware of the continental career of his old classmate — his Biblical labours and his ministrations at Wittenberg, — and of the great abilities he had displayed in the performance of his various duties after his return to London; but, it is more creditable to him, and more in accordance with the evidence, to believe that Rogers' motives in returning to his native country were founded in the conviction that his duty demanded the personal sacrifice which he then unquestionably made, and that his after preferments were the natural results of the exigencies of the times, and in deference to the universal opinion that he was the man most deserving of and best calculated to hold them. He certainly was occupied with the labours required by his two parishes for more than fifteen months before the promotion referred to, and had evidently been in England for more than three years.

Foxe throws a very little light upon this portion of his history. Speaking of his ministry at Wittenberg, he says that "he diligently and faithfully served many years, until such time as it pleased God, by the faithful travail of his chosen and dear servant, King Edward the VI., utterly to banish all Popery forth of England, and to receive in true religion, setting God's Gospel at liberty. He then, being orderly called, having both a conscience and a ready good will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, left such honest and certain conditions as he had in Saxony, and came into England to preach the Gospel, without certainty of any condition. In which office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully travailed, Nicholas

Ridley, then Bishop of London, gave him a Prebend in the Cathedral church of Paul's."

The language in the Latin edition is a little stronger, and more in accordance with the presumption already expressed; for he says that Rogers, "thinking it the duty of every good man to devote his best abilities to his own country, — although, where he was preaching, his position and prospects were highly honourable and even lucrative, — preferred to abandon his worldly fortune, rather than disregard the calls of that duty. Having returned, therefore, to his native land, he manfully devoted himself to furthering the work of the Gospel, labouring willingly and earnestly; and it was not long before his labours were personally rewarded," i. e. by the presentations already mentioned. This would seem to settle the question as to the motives that impelled him to return to England, and this view is confirmed by the character and history of the man, as they were afterwards developed.

The Prebend of St. Pancras appears to have been one of the most (though not the most) valuable in the list, so far as its revenues were concerned. Three Prebendal stalls became vacant about the same time, and Ridley (according to Strype and others) designed assigning them to his friends, Grindall, Bradford, and Rogers—the former then being his chief favourite; but, owing to some dispute with his superiors, he was compelled to bestow the poorest one, that of Mora, upon one Edmund West: Rogers obtained St. Pancras, the next in value, and Bradford received that of Cantlers, or Kentish-Town, the best of the three; while Grindall, who was passed by entirely, was consoled by being made Precentor, or Chaunter, the officer next to the Dean in point of precedence,—being also, at the

time, one of the Bishop's chaplains. This does not look as though Rogers was an especial favourite of Ridley; but it is possible that, in the distribution of his patronage,—if the appointments were in his gift,—he had in view the fact that Rogers already possessed the valuable livings of St. Sepulchre and St. Margaret Moyses, and also that another Rectory, that of Chigwell, in Essex, was attached to the Prebend which he was to receive.

This Rectory of Chigwell was, however, of no immediate value to him. It had long before been united by Bishop Kempe to the office of his Penitentiary, and the former incumbent had, in 1540, leased the living for thirty-one years, on such terms that Rogers could derive no pecuniary benefit from it during the continuance of the lease. To his other titles, however, we must now add that of "Rector of Chigwell." The parish, to this day, boasts of his connexion with it, slight as it may have been; but there are no records concerning it—the registers that have been preserved not commencing until 1556, a year after his death.

The duties of a Prebendary in those days, if properly performed*, were far more severe and important than

* Cranmer, however, gave a sad account of the Prebendaries generally, in his time, as appears by the following quotation from one of his letters to Lord Crumwell:—

"Having experience, both in times past and also in our days, how the said sect of Prebendaries have not only spent their time in much idleness, and their substance in superfluous belly-cheer, I think it not to be a convenient state or degree to be maintained and established. Considering first, that commonly a Prebendary is neither a learner, nor teacher, but a good viander. Then by the same name they look to be chief, and to bear all the whole rule and pre-eminence in the college where they be resident: by means whereof the younger, of their own nature given more to pleasure, good cheer, and pastime, than to abstinence, study, and learning, shall easily be brought from their books to follow the appetite and example of the said Prebendaries, being their heads and

at the present time, and Rogers evidently found the labours of his combined charges too much for him; for, on the 10th of September, 1551, only seventeen days after his appointment as Prebendary, he resigned the Rectorship of St. Margaret Moyses.* Originally, the incumbent of the St. Pancras stall became also the Confessor or Penitentiary of the Bishop of London—an office probably not much respected at the time of the Reformation. But the ordinary duties of the Cathedral service were then by no means slight, and the office of Prebendary no sinecure. Something may be gathered of the estimation in which Rogers and his two fellow-labourers above-named were held by Ridley, and also of the work in which they were engaged after this promotion, by the following extracts from the Bishop's own letters. On the 23rd of July, 1551, he wrote to Sir John Cheke thus:—

"I have gotten the good will, and grant to be with me, of three preachers, men of good learning, and, as I am persuaded, of excellent virtue; which are able, both with life and learning, to set forth God's Word in London, and in the whole Diocese of the same, where is most need of all parts in England—for from thence goeth example, as you know, into all the rest of the

rulers. And the state of Prebendaries hath been so excessively abused, that when learned men have been admitted unto such room, many times they have desisted from their good and godly studies, and all other Christian exercise of preaching and teaching."—*Cotton MS. Cleop.* E. IV. fol. 360.

After reading this exposition of the character and habits of the Prebendaries of St. Paul's and other Cathedral churches, there can be little doubt that the manner in which Rogers and Bradford performed their duties, as such, was a constant reproach to their fellows, and added greatly to their desire to be relieved of such unwelcome associates.

* Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. p. 404. His successor was collated to the Rectory on that day. His resignation may have taken place a short time before.

King's Majesty's whole realm. The men's names be these: Master Grindall, whom you know to be a man of virtue and learning; Master Bradford, a man by whom (as I am assuredly informed) God hath and doth work wonders in setting forth of His Word; the third is a preacher, the which, for detecting and confuting of the Anabaptists and Papists in Essex, both by his preaching and by his writing, is enforced now to bear Christ's cross. The two first be scholars in the University: the third is as poor as either of the other twain." *

On the 18th of November, 1552, he wrote to Sir John Gate and Sir William Cecil as follows:—

"Now, good Mr. Vice-Chamberlain and Mr. Secretary, ye know both how I did bestow of late three or four Prebends which did fall in my time, and what manner of men they be unto whom I gave them—Grindall, Bradford, and Rogers—men known to be so necessary to be abroad in the commonwealth, that I can keep none of them with me in my house." †

Ridley would seem to intimate, in the former extract, that Rogers was, even at that time, subjected to persecution of some sort; but it means perhaps no more than the opposition which he excited among the Papists and other opposers of the Reformation, against whom it appears that he had been preaching and writing, both at home and abroad; thus rendering himself particularly obnoxious to such men as Gardiner and Bonner, who afterwards bitterly resented this portion of his conduct, and heaped upon him their severest punishments, in retaliation for the mischief which he had done them and their creed by his faithful and earnest ministrations. It would also seem that, about this time, he must have

* Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials. Ridley's Works (Parker Society).
† Lansdowne MS. 2, fol. 220.

published certain works in favour of the Protestant movement, and against its adversaries; but a careful research among the catalogues of the time reveals none, the authorship of which we may safely attribute to him. Possibly Ridley referred only to sermons preached by him in his parish of Chigwell, in Essex; but the language quoted would appear to indicate that he was a sort of general champion, and made a business of disputing with the enemies of the new faith, both from the pulpit and through the press. It must be understood, according to these accounts, that, with his two reputed coadjutors, he was greatly occupied in labours outside of his special charges in London—labours avowedly of great importance, and which were performed to the complete satisfaction of the Bishop, who took especial pains to commend them to the favourable notice of the superior authorities. The reference to the poverty of Rogers is not so clear, for certainly the revenues from the various offices which he had been for some time holding must have produced in the aggregate no inconsiderable sum, and one quite adequate to the maintenance of even his large family.

There is another view to be taken of this whole subject, which may here find an appropriate place. A doubt has been intimated that Ridley had anything to do with the return of Rogers to England, or with his various preferments, and even that he was disposed especially to befriend him. The reasons for this doubt are manifest, and possess great weight. On the authority of Strype, it is customary to regard Rogers as having been one of Ridley's chaplains. There does not appear to be the slightest foundation for this assertion. That Bishop never mentioned him as such, although he did speak of others who held that position. It is

quite clear that he had nothing to do with his collation to St. Margaret Moyses and St. Sepulchre — those presentations being made directly from the Crown. There is also abundant evidence to prove that Ridley had no power to make certain other appointments,— perhaps none except the domestics of his own household,— and this evidence is furnished by himself. To understand the matter clearly, it will be necessary to examine more thoroughly the two letters already quoted.*

The one to Sir John Cheke was an appeal for his influence with the Council, that he (Ridley) might be allowed to fill certain vacancies that had occurred in the Prebendal stalls of St. Paul's. The necessity for such an appeal, and such a request, seems to indicate that the Bishop was powerless in regard to those appointments, and the result thereof confirms this presumption. He states that he has three men with him whom he desires may be appointed to fill those vacancies, and the context implies that they were then officiating as his chaplains. Grindall and Bradford he names, with special commendation; but the third he does not name, while he gives a description of him which does not seem applicable to Rogers, with whose name Strype and his followers have chosen to fill the remarkable blank thus left in the letter. He represents him as a sort of pugnacious preacher and writer, who was, on that account, the subject of persecution — a character which there is no reason to believe was at that time borne by Rogers. He says that Grindall and Bradford were scholars in the University, intimating by his silence that the other was not; and yet, we know

* See them at large, in the Appendix.

that Rogers was a fellow-student with himself in the same college at Cambridge. Finally, he speaks particularly of the poverty of the third of his candidates, which would hardly seem descriptive of Rogers, who had then been, for more than a year, in the receipt of a very considerable income from two of the best livings in the Diocese of London, and was evidently a favourite with the higher authorities. The assumption that Rogers was the third person designated in this letter appears, therefore, to be unwarranted. But let us look still further. Ridley urged particularly that the Prebend of Cantrells (Cantlers), or Kentish-Town, might be given to Grindall, for whom he manifested a most decided preference. This was the most valuable of the three vacant Prebends. And yet the result was, that, in spite of the Bishop's extreme importunity, Bradford obtained Kentish-Town, Rogers St. Pancras, and West was collated to Mora, while Grindall received neither of the appointments for which he was so strenuously urged, although the authorities seem to have permitted his presentation to the Chauntership. The question naturally arises, why did Ridley so strangely omit the *name* of the third person referred to in this letter? May not the whole difficulty be reconciled by assuming that West, who we know was one of Ridley's chaplains, was the third one of his candidates for the vacant Prebends, and that Rogers was not mentioned or intended by the Bishop at all?

The second letter of Ridley, before quoted, is a still more remarkable one. He is again a petitioner to two of the highest officers of State, for the privilege of a presentation. He has heard that Grindall has been selected to fill a Bishopric in the North, and he desires to be allowed to select his successor in the

Chauntership of St. Paul's. He urges his request with a degree of humility that would be unaccountable, if he had possessed any right or power in the premises; and, strangely enough, enforces his petition with the argument of how well he had bestowed the Prebends which had fallen in his time, when, as has been seen, he had little or nothing to do with the disposition of them. But a valuable office is about to be again vacant, and he wants the presentation for one of his friends. Bradford is now his favourite, and he presses his claim with the rather extravagant assertion that he is more worthy to be a Bishop than many of those who were already such were to be parish priests. Certainly, it is not necessary to condemn, and it is much more agreeable to admire, the pertinacity with which he endeavoured to advance the interests of his friends and favourites, and these circumstances are not referred to with the slightest feeling of animosity towards the memory of the good Bishop, but merely to correct, if possible, an error in the hitherto received history of the subject of the present biography. Ridley proceeds, in this letter, to provide for the contingency of a refusal of his special request, by naming several others, either of whom he will be willing to see in Grindall's place, in case Bradford is not appointed. Who are they? Why, "Mr. Sampson, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Grimold, or Dr. Lancelot Ridley *" — anybody, it

* Dr. Lancelot Ridley appears to have been the only one among the Bishop's acknowledged favourites, in this list, whose record appears anything like clean; and even his is tarnished by the allegation that he put away his wife, and conformed to the new religion, in the time of Queen Mary, after being deprived of his preferments. He is reputed to have been an eminent scholar and theologian, and to have been very useful to the Protestant cause in the time of Edward VI.; but he could not abide its reverses.—*Coopers' Athenæ Cantabrigienses.*

would seem, except Rogers, whom he does not so much as mention, although occupying one of his best Prebends, and of whom he had just before recorded the same encomiums that he bestowed upon Grindall and Bradford. Surely, this omission of his name in such a connection is remarkable, and does not accord with the declaration that to Ridley was Rogers indebted for his preferments. On the contrary, the inevitable conclusion is that he was by no means, to say the least, a special favourite of his, and that he owed his various ecclesiastical positions to the character which he had made for himself with those who were superior even to the Bishop, and whose behests he was compelled, perhaps reluctantly, to obey. It may be interesting to know that, for some reason, the proposed change was not made; and that, in a private endorsement on Ridley's letter, probably in the handwriting of either Gate or Cecil, Rogers' name stands next to Bradford's, and only second on a list to which is added the words "to succeed in the Chauntership of St. Paul's," &c.,—an additional proof that those dignitaries held him in higher estimation than his Bishop appears to have done.

It is, also, not improper to say that the later career of those named by Ridley, and then held by him above and before Rogers, proves that his judgment of men was not so good as that of his superiors; for West *,

* Edmund West. His fate is perhaps to be compassionated. He had been Ridley's steward, and, as it appears, one of his favourites. He recanted very early in Queen Mary's reign, and even endeavoured to persuade his old master to do the same, which led to one of the best letters that Bishop ever wrote. From all the accounts, he seems to have been so affected by his own weakness and moral disgrace, that he died from the effects of excessive grief, about May, 1554, not surviving his fall even a twelvemonth.—*Coopers' Athen. Cantab.; Strype, &c.*

Harvey *, and Grimold † subsequently turned traitors to their cause, while Sampson ‡, and even Grindall §,

* Henry Harvey is probably meant. He was Ridley's Vicar-general in 1550-1, and it is enough to say that he occupied the same position under Bonner in 1554, when he displayed great activity against the Protestants, particularly the married priests. Yet, in spite of this, he was afterwards named by Grindall (when Bishop of London) as Precentor of St. Paul's! He appears to have acted on several Commissions, and to have received some preferments during Elizabeth's reign. He died February 20th, 1585.—*Coopers' Athen. Cantab.; Strype, &c.*

† Nicholas Grimold (Grimald, Grimoald, Grimalde, or Grimbold). By all accounts, he was an extraordinary scholar, and much esteemed during the time of Edward VI. He was even imprisoned with the other Protestant preachers, but the evidence is too strong that he not only secretly recanted, but was guilty of the detestable meanness of acting as a spy upon his former associates. Wood is the only writer who speaks entirely in his praise, but he, for obvious reasons, omits any allusion to this part of his history. He is supposed to have died about 1563.—*Wood's Athen. Oxon.; Coopers' Athen. Cantab.; Strype, &c.*

‡ Thomas Sampson. His history is rather an eventful one. He was bred to the law, but, becoming a Protestant, abandoned that profession and took holy orders. He married Latimer's niece, and became a great favourite with him, and also with Cranmer and Ridley. He is reputed to have been the means of Bradford's conversion from Popery, and was a popular preacher in the reign of Edward VI., being rector of Allhallows, Bread Street, and subsequently Dean of Chichester. After the Marian troubles commenced, he concealed himself for a long time, but appears to have been finally discovered, as we find him doing penance at Paul's Cross, February 8th, 1556, being dressed in a white sheet and holding a lighted taper, during the delivery of a sermon by a Papist preacher. The accusation against him was that he had two wives! He subsequently fled abroad, but returned after Elizabeth's accession, and, as seems to have been generally the case during that reign, his cowardice was rewarded by sundry valuable preferments. In 1570, he became a successor of Rogers in the Prebend of St. Pancras, which, with other important offices, he appears to have held until his death, which occurred April 9th, 1589. In his latter days he was a rigid Calvinist, and is said to have refused the Bishopric of Norwich, because he could not conform to the ceremonies that would be required of him. On the whole, he seems to have been a man of considerable eminence, and there is nothing against him, except that he was not contented with one wife, and turned his back upon the more steadfast reformers.—*Newcourt; Strype; Wood; Coopers, &c.*

§ Edmund Grindall, having weathered the storm of persecution, or,

the chief favourite, fled precipitately at the first approach of trouble, leaving Bradford only to sustain, with Rogers, the fiery trial which they alone had courage to meet and endure. That Ridley, in his subsequent letters, spoke very warmly and appreciatingly of Rogers, is very true; and it is also true that his worst enemy could not have said less. The very character and attributes displayed by him could not but compel such tributes as the Bishop casually placed upon record. Whether the circumstances related were the cause of any jealousy on the part of Grindall towards Rogers, it is, perhaps, useless now to inquire. He certainly never mentions him in any of his writings that we possess, and it is evident that Rogers appears always to have stood in his way in regard to ecclesiastical preferments. It is well known that Grindall was one of the chief assistants of Foxe in gathering the materials for his Acts and Monuments, and the suggestion is not an impertinent one, or

rather, having fled beyond its reach, became, by a singular good fortune, after the danger was over, successively Bishop of London, Archbishop of York, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury. His history, therefore, is too well known to require recapitulation, and, of course, his character and conduct have generally been handled very tenderly by his biographers. At the risk of being deemed heretical or unorthodox, the writer feels compelled, under the circumstances, to add to the record one or two particulars that are not usually met with. The Puritans, or Nonconformists, found little favour with him during his administration, and, if he did not burn their bodies, he certainly tormented their pious souls beyond measure. One writer (soon after his death) also says that he "left two wives behind him, that can hardly be yet agreed which was his lawful wife." (*Sir John Harrington's Brief View, &c.*) Strype repudiates this allegation, but it seems certain that Queen Elizabeth would not recognise the reigning Mrs. Grindall. (*Nichols' Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.*) He certainly lost the favour of his sovereign some time before his death, although he continued to be Archbishop of Canterbury until that event, which occurred July 6th, 1583. — *Strype; Newcourt; Aikin; Coopers, &c.*

unworthy of consideration, whether *he* may not have furnished that historian with the particulars concerning Joan of Kent, and, in thus detailing what should have been held sacred, as a private conversation, aided in perpetuating the only shadow of reproach that rests upon the memory of the Martyr.

The officers of St. Paul's Cathedral contemporary with Rogers were as follows: Bishop of London—Nicholas Ridley; Dean—William May *; Archdeacon of London—John Wymmesley†; Precentor—Edmund Grindall; Treasurer—Thomas Benett‡; and Chancellor—Thomas Bage, *alias* Williams.§ Of these, the Dean, Archdeacon, and Treasurer also held Prebends. Of the other fellow-Prebendaries of Rogers, there were none particularly worthy of notice. Many of them had occupied their positions for years, perhaps changing

* William May. He was Dean of St. Paul's from February 8th, 1546, until the accession of Queen Mary, when he was deprived of this and other preferments. He probably lived obscurely through her reign, and was restored, in the time of Elizabeth, to his old position, which he held until his death, August 8th, 1560, on which day he is said to have been elected Archbishop of York. He was a very useful man in Edward's reign, and was one of the compilers of the first edition of the Book of Common Prayer, in 1549.—*Newcourt; Coopers.*

† John Wymmesley was a brother of Bishop Bonner, and, like him, the natural son of a Romish priest. He resigned this Archdeaconry in April, 1554, being then collated to that of Middlesex, which, with the Prebend of Sneating, he held until his death in October, 1556.—*Newcourt.*

‡ Thomas Benett (Benet, or Bennet), LL.D. He was Treasurer of St. Paul's from March 12th, 1520, until his death about October, 1558. He had previously been Chancellor and Vicar-general to Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London, and held also, at his death, the Prebend of Rugmere. In 1530, he was sent with Cranmer and others to Bologna, to dispute the matter of the King's marriage.—*Newcourt.*

§ Otherwise called Baghe, and Bawghe. He was Chancellor of St. Paul's from February 22nd, 1530, until his death about February, 1558. He was also Archdeacon of Surrey about 1536, and a member of the Convocation of 1540. In November, 1531, he was one of those who condemned Richard Bayfield for heresy.—*Newcourt; Strype; Coopers.*

their views to suit the changes of the times, but certainly not subject to deprivation, as the appointments mentioned were the only ones made during Ridley's administration, and those only to fill vacancies that had occurred by the deaths of the respective incumbents. It may not be uninteresting to mention here, that among the successors of Rogers in the Prebend of St. Pancras were William Alley, afterwards Bishop of Exeter; Lancelot Andrews, successively Bishop of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester, and, by a curious coincidence, one of the translators of the present version of the Bible; Henry King, Bishop of Chichester; William Sherlock, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, and Master of the Temple; and William Paley. Of these, Andrews, Sherlock, and Paley are most familiarly known to the world, from their high personal character, and the deservedly great reputation which they acquired from their writings. The present incumbent is Rev. John Hampden Gurney, who was appointed by the present Bishop of London, in 1857. The office has become purely an honorary one, no emoluments being now attached to it, and the only duty required being the delivery of a sermon, yearly, on Ash-Wednesday.

There is considerable doubt as to the period when Rogers was chosen by the Dean and Chapter to the office of Divinity Lecturer in St. Paul's. In both the Latin and English editions of Foxe, it appears to be intimated that it was nearly simultaneous with his appointment to the Prebend, and this view has been taken by all subsequent writers. But there is to be found, in a list of the acts assented to by King Edward VI. and his Privy Council, one dated late in the month of June, 1553, being "A Presentation to the Bishop of

London, to admit John Rogers within the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, in London."* Strype, in quoting the above from the same MS., added the words "to be Reader there," which do not appear in the original. If this relates to the same event, then Rogers had held his Prebend for nearly two years before he was so chosen to the Lectureship, and the serious discrepancy of Foxe, in his account of Joan of Kent, is rendered still more formidable, as he would not have held the latter post until considerably more than three years after the execution of that unfortunate woman. It is hardly possible that this presentation could have referred to any other office, unless the same was withheld by the Bishop — a circumstance of which there has never been the slightest hint; nor is it probable that there were two persons of the same name at that time connected with St. Paul's, or so prominent in the movements of the day as to have received such an appointment. But again, there appears no evidence that the warrant of the King was necessary to confirm the choice of the Dean and Chapter, in such a case as this. Possibly, however, it was requisite, as a matter of form.† At an earlier period, the duties of this office were performed by the Chancellor, and the permission of the King, as the head of the Church, may have been deemed necessary to sanction the innovation upon the old custom. It seems clear that the record mentioned refers to this particular appointment, and, if so, Rogers could have held that office, or performed its duties,

* MS. Reg. (Brit. Mus.) 18. C. xxiv.

† The present venerable Dean of St. Paul's (Rev. H. H. Milman, D.D.), at the writer's special request, has carefully examined the records of the Dean and Chapter, but finds nothing to throw any light upon this event in the Martyr's history.

for a very short time only, as, before the expiration of another month, he was confined a prisoner to his house. The only presumption that can reconcile all the accounts is, that Rogers had been previously chosen to the office, and had been for some time fulfilling its requirements, but that the official recognition of the King and Council had been, for some cause, delayed until that late date. Foxe, who, in his English edition, merely says that "the Dean and Chapter chose him to be the Reader of the Divinity Lesson," in the Latin copy uses more extravagant, though rather obscure language, viz. that, "in addition to the Prebend, and other ecclesiastical offices which he held, that of Professor of Theology was publicly delegated to him by the Dean of the College of St. Paul's; in which sacred body he exerted himself, with the greatest energy, for some years." But, whether he occupied that position for a longer or shorter period, it is evident that it was one at that time entrusted only to a person of superior abilities, and an additional proof is thus furnished of the high estimation in which the character and attainments of the Martyr were held. The office still nominally exists in the Cathedral, but has degenerated into the most absolute sinecure — a handsome income being attached to it, for which the performance of the slightest service is not required from the incumbent.

At one time during King Edward's reign, and certainly after Rogers became Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, he appears to have been in some difficulty with the authorities. He was not the kind of man to keep silence in the midst of what he considered abuses, either in the Church or in the civil Government, but was wont to condemn them in the bold, frank, and uncompromising manner which he afterwards displayed

in his examinations before his death. It seems that it was not plain sailing with the Reformers, even in Edward's time. Cranmer could not enforce the sentiments which, no doubt, he honestly entertained, and the practices which he preferred, upon his subordinates against their wills. St. Paul's was still full of Papists, who held their positions in spite of him and Ridley — nay, in spite even of the Government itself — and, although they might nominally recognise the new rule, their hearts were full of bitterness, and it was impossible always to restrain them within bounds. On the other hand, the hangers-on about the Court, and even the courtiers themselves, appear to have followed the universal example attendant upon great political changes, and resorted to every means to enrich themselves from the spoils of the temporarily vanquished party. It would hardly be saying too much to assert that a large portion of those in power, and wielding influence about the civil establishment, were reckless and covetous, nay, even dissolute and vicious. Ridley characterised them in language quite as strong as this. The chief preachers, it appears, exerted themselves to stem the torrent that threatened to sweep away even the few new landmarks that had been established, but their interference, proper and necessary as it was, was often resented, and they incurred no little danger by their boldness, and the faithful manner in which they performed their duty in this respect. Rogers was one of the most active and resolute in the crusade against this crying evil, the tendencies and inevitable results of which it was impossible not to foresee, and, in the fearless discharge of the duties of his position, drew down upon himself the ill-will of some of the party described. It appears that,

on one occasion, he preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, in the course of which he animadverted so severely upon the misuses that were made of the property of the suppressed abbeys, and the confiscated goods of the churches, that those against whom his reproaches were directed became furious, and demanded that he should be called to account for his hardihood. He was accordingly summoned before the Privy Council, but the probability is that he defended himself so successfully that the matter was no further pressed, as no punishment, or even restraint, appears to have followed his brief arrest. He refers to this circumstance in the papers which he wrote after his final examinations, and declares that "never a Papist of them all did ever so much therein as he did" to check these abuses, and that neither he, or others who did the same, would be charged before God with remissness of duty in that respect. This trait in his character stands out in glaring contradistinction to that alleged of him in the case of Joan of Kent, and shows that, however little leniency he was disposed to evince towards what he regarded as grave religious errors, he had no more forbearance in cases of oppression and manifest injustice towards the weaker party in the kingdom.

We have some information in reference to this period of the Martyr's life, concerning his sentiments and practice as a Nonconformist. Fuller and others have spoken of him and Hooper as "the ringleaders of that party," but they would hardly be entitled to that appellation according to the more modern signification of the words. They do not appear to have opposed the general tenets of the Church, but only declined to conform to some of its minor outward customs, which they thought savoured too much of Papistry. Rogers

had probably acquired his distaste for them among the continental Reformers, but appears to have manifested his aversion in only one particular. It was the custom of the regular clergy in those days, when they went abroad, to wear their priests' coats and square caps, and, in some cases, gowns and tippets. Quite a controversy arose upon this subject, and some of the preachers refused to wear these distinctive garments, even although they had been prescribed, not only by a Convocation, but also by the Parliament. Rogers seems to have been prominent among them, and, in this respect, to have defied the authority of the Church and the civil Government, and to have lived in open contumacy to both, satisfying himself that the requirements were against his conscience. He appears to have been appealed to and reasoned with upon the subject, but steadfastly refused ever to wear other than a round cap. Finally, to put an end to further entreaty, he made a proposition which he well knew would not be accepted, and agreed to wear the offensive habits, on condition that those of the clergy, known still to be Papists, should be compelled to place badges upon their sleeves, the device of which should be a chalice with a host upon it. This seems to have put an end to the controversy, so far as he was concerned, for he continued to wear the round cap as long as he lived, and was never molested for so doing. This incident illustrates his determination and pertinacity, in even so unimportant a matter, when his conscience was involved in the question.

In one portion of the posthumous papers of Rogers, we find him proudly proclaiming the fact that he was "an Englishman born." He proved his loyalty and patriotism, about this time, by securing, by a special Act

of Parliament, the legal naturalisation of his wife, and those of his children who were born in Germany. In the latter part of March, 1552, in connection with Edmund Allen, John Madwell, and James Bylney, all preachers, he presented a petition to that effect, which was read for the first time in the House of Lords on the 31st of March, and finally passed the Commons on the 9th of April, receiving the royal assent on the 15th of the same month. They stated that, while pursuing their studies beyond the sea, they had married certain women born in those parts, by whom they had had, in lawful matrimony, divers children yet living, who intended, by God's grace, to become his Majesty's faithful and obedient subjects; and prayed that both their wives and children might henceforth be reputed, and, in all respects, legally recognised as denizens. The original Act, still preserved in the archives of the House of Lords, though somewhat illegible, bears distinctly the autograph of Edward VI., in his constrained school-boy handwriting.* The bill did not, however, pass without some opposition, for we find recorded in the Journal of the House of Lords, as having voted against it, the names of the Earl of Derby†, and

* For the privilege of examining this interesting document, the writer was indebted to the kindness of Sir John George Shaw Lefevre, K.C.B., the estimable Clerk of the House of Lords, for whose gentlemanly courtesy, and extreme patience in prosecuting an apparently hopeless search, he desires to make this heartfelt and public acknowledgment.

† Edward, third Earl of Derby, of whom Camden wrote that, when he died, "the glory of hospitality seemed to fall asleep." Foxe makes him a great persecutor, but other historians give him a different character, and commend his "fidelity to two Kings and two Queens." He succeeded to the title in 1521, being then in his eleventh year. He was in great favour during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., and equally so through that of Edward VI. He was made Lord High Steward of England by Mary, and, by Elizabeth, one of her Privy Council, on account

Lords Sturton *, Sands †, Windsor ‡, and Borough.§ Their objections arose, probably, from their different religious faith, which did not permit them to regard the marriage of clergymen as lawful, or their children as legitimate, although both were declared to be so by the very body of which they were members. How, in the face of this special Act, in connection with the previous ones confirming and legalising the marriage of priests, Gardiner, then the highest judicial officer of the realm, could have had the impudence to deny the lawful wedlock of Rogers, is a circumstance that passes all comprehension.‖

Such is a succinct relation of all that is at present known, or can be reasonably presumed, concerning the

of his well known prudence and loyalty. He died October 24th, 1574. —*Collins' Peerage, by Brydges.*

* Charles, seventh Lord Stourton. He was hung, with a "silken halter," at Salisbury, March 16th, 1557, having, with four of his servants, been convicted of the shameful murder of one Hargil and his son, with whom he had been long at variance.—*Collins' Peerage, by Brydges.*

† Thomas, second Lord Sands (or Sandys) of the Vine, in Hants. The peerage was created in 1523. He succeeded his father in 1543, and died about 1572. The title became extinct, on the death of the fourth Lord, in 1629.—*Nicolas' Historic Peerage, by Courthope.*

‡ William, second Lord Windsor, who succeeded to the title in 1543. He was one of the first to offer his services to Mary, after Edward's death, and was regarded by her with great favour, being reputed "a man of sound judgment, and strict integrity and honour." He died August 20th, 1558.—*Collins' Peerage, by Brydges.*

§ Thomas, third Lord Burgh (or Borough). He succeeded his father in 1529, and died about 1552. His ancestor was Hubert de Burgh, Justice of England, who died, Earl of Kent, in 1243.—*Nicolas' Historic Peerage, by Courthope.*

‖ The writer had strongly hoped that, if successful in discovering this Act (a copy of which will be found in the Appendix), it would have recorded the individual names of the persons thus naturalised, or that, at least, the signatures of the petitioners would have been attached to it, so that he might have secured a fac-simile of the Martyr's autograph; but he was doomed again to be disappointed. The original petition, which probably contained them, has not been preserved.

Martyr, down to about the fiftieth year of his life. It is to be regretted that the information is so meagre, and that the chief evidences are, mainly, only circumstantial. But it must be remembered that the real greatness of the man was not developed until after this period. Had we the minutest record of the earlier portion of his life, we should only discover that he had been enduring a course of training for the solemn and momentous events in which he was afterwards to be so prominent an actor. Apart from the invaluable services which he had rendered the Church and the world, by his labours concerning the English Bible, he had been, up to this era in his history, a great and good man indeed, but only one among a thousand others. He had not the rare fortune to become a Bishop, or any other high dignitary, or his personal history would not have been suffered to sink into oblivion, but would have been blazoned to the world, and his memory carefully perpetuated, — not so much because he had adorned and dignified his office, as because he had chanced to occupy it.

Fortunately, we are not without testimony concerning the brief remainder of his career, and the completion of his history can be entered upon with a degree of confidence in which it has been impossible hitherto to indulge.

CHAPTER IV.

PERSECUTION AND IMPRISONMENT.

Death of Edward VI. — Character of that Monarch and his Court. — Commencement of the Persecutions. — Lady Jane Grey. — Rogers preaches at Paul's Cross. — His Discourse contrasted with a previous one by Ridley. — Mary's Accession. — Rogers ordered to preach again at the Cross. — This Discourse compared with his former one. — His first Step towards Martyrdom. — Becomes the Pioneer of the Reformation. — His Arrest and Discharge. — Review of Ridley's Conduct. — Tergiversation of the Queen. — Bourne's Sermon at Paul's Cross. — His Rescue from personal Violence by Bradford and Rogers. — Proclamations against the Protestants. — Rogers again arrested. — Ordered to remain a Prisoner in his own House. — Reasons why he was not sent to Prison. — His second great Responsibility in the Movements of the Reformation. — How he sustained it. — Fruitless Efforts for his Release. — Deprived of the Avails of his Livings. — His Removal to Newgate. — Refutation of the Notion that he was a political Offender. — Dr. Maitland criticised. — The especial Malignity of Gardiner and Bonner explained. — His Treatment in Newgate. — Proposal to send him and others to Cambridge to dispute. — Their Refusal. — They sign a Confession of Faith. — Its Character and Importance. — His strict Exclusion. — His Writings destroyed. — His Charity to the other Prisoners. — Signs a Petition to Parliament. — His Authorship of certain Verses disproved. — Possibility that some of his Writings exist, attributed to others.

The real troubles of Rogers, and of the whole "noble army of martyrs," commenced on the death of Edward VI., which event occurred on the 6th of July, 1553. Had that excellent sovereign lived longer, it is difficult to imagine what would have been the fate of the movement of the Reformation. As he increased in years, he might have so asserted his authority as to

have advanced its interests more rapidly and to a greater extent than ever before, but it must be confessed, after a careful and impartial examination of both the public and private histories of those times, that it stood, at about the period of his death, in a position of great jeopardy. Good as he personally was, and sustained, as he also was, by a few good and judicious men, both in the Church and out of it, the fact cannot be overlooked, that the mass of the community, both civil and religious, was really opposed to the progress of the new doctrines. The great majority of the Church was still, secretly, if not avowedly, Papist; while the machinations of the Pope and his emissaries were quietly, but surely, undermining the foundations of the religious structure whose erection had proceeded but slowly. Such men as Gardiner might be deprived of their official positions and ecclesiastical dignities, and even banished or imprisoned, but their influence was still felt, and, for every dragon's tooth buried, there speedily sprang up a crop of ready armed soldiers to swell the ranks of the Papal army. The civil power and prestige of the throne alone sustained the infancy of the Reformation, and preserved even the lives of its chief actors. But, while Edward, that very good and promising child, was uttering sound and seasonable sentiments, prettily and properly clothed for him in appropriate language by his tutors and ministers, his very Court had become the scene of vice, and wickedness of all sorts was rapidly gaining an ascendency that threatened, before many years, to prove fatal to its integrity. It is well known that treason stalked in its midst, and that the rankest Papists filled offices of high trust and importance, cloaking their evil intentions under the garb of extraordinary sanctity. It may well

be doubted whether the young King himself could have successfully stemmed the torrent, which the slightest accident might have caused to burst forth, and with greatly aggravated fury from having been so long held in restraint. It is evident that, in the economy of the Governor of the universe, the time had not arrived for the Reformation to have its full course. Neither the actors necessary for its successful movements, or the world itself, were prepared for it. There must be another great convulsion of the civil Government, and the endurance of a succession of fiery trials, before either would be thoroughly fitted for the permanent establishment of the new rule, and for changes so momentous. So Edward, to whom the eyes of all good men everywhere were turned as to a saviour, was stricken down, just as it seemed to them that his life was becoming of the most importance, and the reign of terror commenced at once.

But little breathing time was given to the Reformers, after the King's death, for they found themselves almost instantly involved in the unhappy events attending the career of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. Her father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland, had effected the disgrace and death of the excellent Duke of Somerset (who was, whatever may have been his failings, Edward's truest and best friend, as well as the earnest advocate and promoter of the Reformation), and had become Protector in his stead,—openly and apparently countenancing the Reformers, but secretly aiding and abetting sundry movements designed for their overthrow,—and finally secured her proclamation as Queen, on the 7th of July, the day after Edward's death. Her melancholy history is too well-known to require comment, and is only mentioned here, because, in the

course of her brief reign, occurred the turning point in the life of Rogers.

On the 9th of July, 1553, being the first Sunday after Lady Jane was proclaimed, Bishop Ridley, by order of the Council, preached a sermon at Paul's Cross. His discourse seems to have been, not only of a very plain, personal character, but even violent in its denunciations of the Princess Mary, whom he represented as a thorough Papist, who would, if she had succeeded to the Crown, have restored the Papal dominion, and betrayed the kingdom to a foreign power; and he also made other severe animadversions upon her, contrasting her character, and that of her probable government, with those of the Lady Jane. Bishop Burnet avers, on the authority of a MS. which he quotes, that Ridley, on this occasion, even declared both Mary and Elizabeth to be illegitimate*, which proves that his zeal for Lady Jane, or his lack of prudence, carried him quite beyond bounds. It is not to be wondered at that this injudicious and ill-tempered language should have been remembered, when the object of its bitter severities came into power. It unquestionably sealed Ridley's doom, from the moment of its delivery.

On the next Sunday, July 16th, Rogers preached at the same place. In perfect contradistinction to that of his predecessor, the Bishop, his sermon was confined exclusively to an exposition of the Gospel for the day. This furnishes satisfactory evidence of his moderation and sound judgment, his indisposition to give unnecessary offence, and his freedom from any partisan or political bias; and is the more to be remarked, because

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, Oxford, 1829, vol. iii. part ii. p. 533.

of the rareness of those qualities among the early Reformers. He never failed to exhibit the utmost firmness and boldness, when it was necessary to attack abuses or wickedness, even in high places, so that he cannot be accused of weakness or cowardice on this occasion. He probably judged, and rightly too, that any personal attack upon the Princess Mary or her party, at that time and on that holy day, would be ill-timed and uncalled for, and so performed the duty allotted to him, as a minister of the Gospel, and not as a political lecturer. It is, also, almost certain that he had not consented to the elevation of Lady Jane, but conscientiously believed in the right of Mary's succession, even although he deprecated such an event as destructive to his hopes for the success of the Reformation. At all events, he held his peace on the exciting topic, much, probably, to the dissatisfaction of many of his immediate friends. But it was offence enough that he had succeeded the obnoxious Ridley at Paul's Cross, and was recognised by the Council as one of its ablest preachers; and this, added to the fear of him already entertained by the Papists, on account of his boldness and ability, rendered him, from that occasion, a marked man.*

On the 17th of July, Mary was in turn proclaimed, and the unhappy reign of Jane was practically at an

* The Engraving here presented has been executed expressly for this work, from the original painting in the possession of the Royal Society of Antiquaries; to which body the writer desires to return his sincere acknowledgments for the permission so kindly accorded to him. Its date is somewhat later than Rogers' time, but, as we know, historically, that no material alterations had been made, either in the Cathedral or the Cross, it presents a faithful view of them as they appeared at the time of the Martyr's Sermons, and also furnishes a correct illustration of the scenes described in the text, here and elsewhere.

OLD ST. PAUL'S, AND PAUL'S CROSS.

end. Nothing occurred, however, of importance to our narrative, until after Mary's arrival in London, on the 3rd of August. On the following Sunday, the 6th, Rogers again preached at Paul's Cross, delivering, according to Foxe, "a most godly and vehement sermon, avowing and confirming such true doctrine as he and others had there taught in King Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same and to beware of all pestilent Popery, idolatry, and superstition."

Here, it may be safely asserted, shone forth, for perhaps the first time, the true character of the man. Here ended the career of the mere minister, and began that of the martyr. The occasion was an important one, and demands closer consideration. Why was he the *first* who was called to deliver a public discourse, after the arrival of Queen Mary in London? It surely could not have been his regular day for that duty, for he had preached at the Cross only three weeks before, and it was customary for the principal clergy to officiate there in rotation. The answer is plain. History records that the Council was already "overmatched with Popish Bishops," and there can be little doubt that, with their undisguised hatred of him, they had commanded this sermon, with the express hope of entrapping him, or, at least, of compelling him to define his future position. They did not reckon erroneously. Rogers was prepared for the emergency, which may not have been unexpected. He had already foreseen the results of Mary's accession, had counted the cost of his opposition, and had deliberately made up his mind as to the course which he should pursue. There is no doubt that, even at that day, he saw in the dim distance the stake that was to be the goal of his career.

The considerations of life, liberty, a loving family, ability to do good abroad, all had passed before him and been carefully weighed, but he did not falter. He had come to his native land at the call of duty, and he would not forsake that duty, or avoid its performance, for any earthly inducements, dear and tender, or high and holy as human affection might regard them. Even at that early day, he had formed the resolution which he afterwards enunciated to the cruel sheriff on the morning of his execution, that what he had preached he would seal with his blood. There was no wavering, no timidity, no effort to escape the command of the Council, no shrinking from the responsibilities of the position into which he had been forced, and no lukewarmness or time-serving in his address, when he stood for the last time where his voice had often been heard before, and knew that every word that fell from his lips was only adding to the terrors of his future doom. How different this discourse from his last one at that place! Then, there being no motive and no necessity for severity, he had mildly preached a Gospel sermon, and sent his hearers to their homes, comforted in their hopes of salvation or mourning over their sins. Now, the scene and the occasion were changed: he was no longer the mere spiritual pastor of an anxious flock, but the dread censor of a vile and angry priesthood, into whose hands he saw had already been committed the direction of the future Government. We can well imagine the tenor of his language, and how his auditors must have writhed under the lashings of his earnest and indignant soul. Suppose it had been otherwise—that he had failed on this occasion—that, put forward as he was, the first to temporise with the then ruling powers, or to compromise himself and his

cause inextricably by a firm defiance of his and its enemies, he had, through moral weakness or physical timidity, chosen the former course. What a crushing blow would he have inflicted upon that cause, and how his example would have deterred others from maintaining their steadfastness when it should come their turns to be in peril! There never was any position in the whole history of the Reformation, all things considered, where the responsibilities thrown upon a single man were greater and the results more important, or where they were more nobly sustained. Surely, his conduct was more than noble—it was magnificent!

The immediate effect was what might have been and probably was expected. He was forthwith summoned before the same Council which had ordered him to preach this discourse, but defended himself so ingeniously that they were compelled, for the time, to dismiss him unharmed. From all that can be gleaned, his defence appears to have consisted in a simple appeal to the fact that the Protestant religion was still recognised and protected by the law of the land,—the Acts passed in its behalf in King Edward's time not having yet been repealed. This was an argument which even such a Council as that was could not dispute, and, angry as they must have been to see their supposed prey so easily elude them, they could not safely do otherwise than release him.

This was Rogers' *last* sermon, and, according to his own testimony, his last public address of any kind; for, at his examination, when Gardiner failed to sustain his charge that he had then preached against the Queen, and fell back upon the assertion that he had subsequently read his lectures in St. Paul's, Rogers instantly gave it a flat denial: "That did I not," said

he; "let that be proved, and let me die for it!" He had evidently been unsparing in his denunciations of the Popish religion, and its upholders both in Church and State, but had taken especial pains to avoid any personal attack upon the Queen*; of whom, as will be seen hereafter, he entertained a better opinion than that held by most of his class, and by the world generally ever since.

Was there any other man, besides Rogers, who would have preached so plainly and fearlessly on that occasion? Hooper or Bradford might perhaps have done so, but it is doubtful if there was another among the Reformers then in London who would. Ridley was evidently incapable of it. It was easy enough to denounce Mary and her religion when she was at a distance, and at a time when he imagined Jane to be safely seated on the throne, and that he might, therefore, launch his anathemas at the Princess with im-

* His own language on this point is so distinct and positive, that it is here quoted entire. Describing a colloquy with Gardiner, at the close of his first day's examination, he says: —

"I asked him, wherefore he sent me to prison?

"He said, because I preached against the Queen.

"I answered, that was not so, and I would be bound to prove, and stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to prove it, and thereupon would set my life. I preached, quoth I, a sermon at the Cross, after the Queen came to the Tower, but therein was nothing said against the Queen; witness to all the audience, which was not small: and that he had, after examination, let me go at liberty, after the preaching of that sermon."

He had also previously replied to Gardiner, when he professedly proffered him the mercy of the Queen, as follows: —

"I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her Grace; yet will I not refuse her mercy."

But it proved that he was to have this mercy shown him, only upon condition that he acknowledged the Pope to be the head of the Church — rather a singular method of compromising a political offence, if, as has been alleged, Rogers was regarded as a political offender.

punity; but there is evidence to justify the opinion that, had he been ordered to preach at Paul's Cross, instead of Rogers, on the 6th of August, his discourse would have been, to say the least, noncommittal. But the Bishop had been even then practically deposed, and was already in confinement in the Tower. How and why? As soon as Queen Mary had been proclaimed, and only a very few days after his public attack upon her, we find him among the first who hastened to her Court, in order to pay their respects to the rising sun. Unable, apparently, to restrain the impatience of his ardour until her arrival in London, he must needs journey to meet her at Framlingham,—as if to assure her of his anxiety to be among the earliest of her welcomers. With the words of bitterness and reproach concerning her scarcely cold upon his lips, and their harsh echoes still ringing in her ears, he had the effrontery (for it merits no milder term) to force himself into the presence of the woman whose most tender sensibilities he had so grossly insulted, with no other conceivable motive than the hope of thus gaining her favour by his apparent enthusiasm! The very act was one of folly, if not madness, and the result what would, by any other man, have been anticipated. Foxe very curtly says that he was received with extreme coldness, and was sent back to the Tower, "on a lame and halting horse." It is not necessary to add to this expressive description of the good Bishop's weakness and disgrace, the only object being to contrast the characters, as exemplified in the conduct, of the two men.*

* Ridley was committed to the Tower on the 26th of July. The kindest construction of his conduct in this instance is, that he went with others to proffer their fealty and assistance to Mary, on condition that she would make no alteration in the religion of the land. But, under all the circumstances, the act cannot be characterised as less than foolhardy.

The Queen lost no time in surrounding herself by counsellors and ministers suited to her peculiar taste and religious creed, summarily ejecting the Protestants who were obnoxious to her, and filling their places with such characters as Gardiner and Bonner, and others of their stamp. During the ensuing week,—in spite of her repeated assurances and positive promises to the Protestants generally (and especially to those of Suffolk, without whose loyalty and timely assistance, it is quite certain that she could never have reached the throne so easily), that she would make no change in the then lawfully established religion, but would be quite content with privately enjoying her own,—measures were resolved upon, and preparations made, for carrying out the long-settled determination to crush the Reformers and the Reformation, and reinstate the Papacy throughout England. On Saturday, the 12th of August, she summoned to her presence the magistrates of London, and, personally addressing them, declared that, although her own conscience was firm in matters of religion, yet she did not intend to put any restraint upon those of her subjects; but she designed to have them instructed in what she believed to be the true religion, by "godly, virtuous, and learned preachers," and hoped that through their teachings they would be led to agree with her in her religious sentiments. The man selected to commence these public instructions, and one to whom the adjectives above quoted were designed to apply, was Gilbert Bourne (who had been for some time a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and was now the chaplain and a parasite of Bonner, Ridley's successor in the Bishopric of London), than whom, being a recreant from their principles, Mary's counsellors could not have chosen a man more obnoxious to the Protestants, or

more fit to be put forward to perform the shameful task allotted to him.* There can be little doubt that he was fully instructed in what manner and with what intent to address his audience, or that the whole performance of the day was a contrived plot to precipitate a fatal breach between the new authorities and the Protestant portion of the people. Had the spirit of the Queen's declaration been carried out, and some moderate and temperate Popish dignitary first delivered a conciliatory public discourse, there seems almost a certainty that the results would have been far different from those that really occurred. But such, evidently, was not the wish of the leaders of the Popish party. Certain prominent Reformers were already marked for destruction, and, having accomplished this object, they felt sure of speedily controlling their immediate followers and the mass of the people.

On Sunday, the 13th of August, Bourne stood in the same place, at Paul's Cross, where Rogers had ended his public preaching a week before. He appears to have

* Gilbert Bourne was a man of considerable ability, but, like most others who abandoned their Protestant principles, having lost his own self-respect, he became more bitter as a persecutor than those who had always been Papists. Becoming a most serviceable tool of his superiors, he was in great favour through Queen Mary's reign, receiving various preferments as his reward, and finally became Bishop of Bath and Wells, in which capacity he sat as one of Rogers' judges. He was, of course, deprived under Elizabeth, but remained a prisoner at large until his death, which occurred at Silverton, Devon, September 10th, 1569. He is said to have passed his later years entirely in reading and devotional exercises, which it is to be hoped were not unprofitable. His refusal to defend Bradford from the charge brought against him, after having experienced the results of his humanity, is disgraceful to his memory; but it must be said that, although present at his trial and declining to say a word in his behalf, his expressive silence, when Bradford appealed to him, forced Gardiner to abandon the charge of sedition which he sought to urge against that martyr.—*Newcourt's Repertorium; Hook's Ecclesiastical Biography, &c.*

had a large audience, for the Lord Mayor and other city officials were present, and Bonner at the head of his priesthood, besides a great number of Protestants, or those who pretended to be such. He also had chosen for the subject of his discourse the Gospel of the day, but, from the accounts which we have, he must have paid little regard to it, after its announcement. He appears to have devoted himself entirely to the personal laudation of his master, Bonner, and to the virulent abuse of King Edward, the Protestants, and that religion which was still recognised by the law of the land. So harsh and intemperate grew his language at last, that the Protestant portion of his audience became indignant, and finally enraged. Stones and other missiles were hurled at him, and at length a dagger, from which he narrowly escaped a serious injury. He had not courage to face the storm that he had raised, or, which is more probable, the desired and intended effect had been already produced. The Protestants had committed themselves, by an overt act of sufficient moment to justify a resort to severer measures against them, and this had been the object of all the proceedings of the day. Whether the dagger was thrown by one of that party, or by a Papist in disguise (which is quite as probable), was of no consequence, so long as this end was attained. It now became necessary to avert the rage of the populace. The willing instrument of the Papists had withdrawn from open observation, abandoning his unfinished harangue, but the Cross was still surrounded by an exasperated crowd, and his personal danger was yet imminent. His own brother (another Prebendary of St. Paul's), and other priests with him in the pulpit, were obliged to humiliate themselves so far as to beseech Mr. Bradford, who was also present, to inter-

pose in his behalf. A few words from a man so popular and so much beloved soon quelled the storm. He called Rogers to his assistance, and they escorted the obnoxious preacher, unmolested, through the crowd, remaining with him until he had reached a place of safety. How this humanity on their part was almost immediately repaid, will be seen hereafter.

It is a historical fact that the Queen's Council was in session on that very day — Sunday — at the Tower, awaiting an account of the results of the scheme which they had directed and put in operation, or that they were called together immediately on the news reaching the Queen or her Ministers; for in the Journal of the Council, under that date, appears the following entry: —

"They be ordered, every alderman in his ward, severally, to send forthwith for the curates of every parish church within their liberties, and to warn them not only to forbear to preach, or make any open or solemn reading of the Scripture in their churches, unless the said preachers be such as be specially licensed thereunto by the Queen's Highness." *

This appears to have been the germ of the Proclamation which was publicly issued on the 18th of August. From this minute of the Council, that document was drawn up (Strype, with great probability, conjectures by Gardiner), with much elaboration and ingenuity, so as to wear the appearance of friendly advice from the Queen to the people — she still assuring them that she did not intend to disturb them in the enjoyment of their religion, and recommending them to remain quiet until a Parliament had assembled and

* Harleian MS. 643, fol. 1. This volume is a copy from the original Journals of the Council, and is recognised as authentic.

acted; but yet, half buried amid the casuistry and rhetoric of the future Lord Chancellor, appeared the royal edict positively prohibiting all preaching and reading of the Scriptures by the Protestants, as determined upon by the Council on the previous Sunday. This Proclamation appeared on Friday, and, on the following Monday, the 21st of August, another was published, by which every man, i. e. every Protestant, was prohibited from reasoning against or discussing the actions of the Queen and Council, whatever they might be. These two Proclamations are often confounded by modern writers, but were evidently distinct, and issued on the different days mentioned. These, it will be remembered, were purely arbitrary edicts, of no moral or legal value, and could only be effective as they were maintained by force. The Protestants, being the weaker party, must of course submit, as their enemies were more powerful than the laws which should have protected them.

But the Council did not wait even for the formality of publicly issuing these Proclamations, before proceeding with their plan of operations. On the 16th of August, two days before the first one appeared, although three days after it had been concocted and determined upon, Rogers, who, during the ten days that had passed since he preached at Paul's Cross, appears to have been quite silent, was again summoned before them at the Tower. The universal legal axiom, that a man shall not be placed twice in jeopardy for the same offence, was, in his case, entirely disregarded. He had already been virtually tried for the only crime that they could allege against him, and acquitted. He was not even accused of any new offence, and yet he was a second time dragged before the arbitrary tribunal. The only

excuse that has ever been offered, in palliation of this gross violation of right, is the unwarranted and insincere one, that the facility with which Bradford and himself had quelled the tumult, on the occasion of Bourne's preaching, was presumptive proof that they had been the instigators of it. Thus the best traits in the character of these good men were transformed into offences to ensure their own destruction. By their blameless lives and conduct, and their able and holy ministrations, they had acquired the love, confidence, and respect of the people, who readily yielded to their merciful interposition in behalf of a bitter enemy of their cause; but such a moral power over the affections and passions of men was a thing unaccountable to their opponents, who knew no other rule than that maintained by fear and brute force. At all events, the presumption mentioned could be urged, as they thought, with a sufficient appearance of reason, and the slightest opportunity to lay violent hands upon him again was eagerly seized.* The result of this second arraignment shall be told in the Council's own words, which, in the minute of that date, are as follows: —

"John Rogers, *alias* Matthew †, a seditious preacher, ordered by the Lords of the Council to keep himself as prisoner in his house at Paul's, without conference of any person other than such as are daily with him in [his] household, until such time as he hath contrary commandment."

* This is yielding, momentarily, to the presumption that this excuse was urged concerning Rogers, but it is proper to say that there is no evidence that such was the case. It was, indeed, made a serious allegation on the trial of Bradford, who had been the most conspicuous on that occasion, but even he appears to have successfully refuted it.

† It will be seen that, in the very first official proceedings against Rogers, particular pains were taken to identify him with the "Thomas Matthew" of the Bible of 1537.

Foxe states that this occurred *after* the Proclamation, but this is one of his numerous inaccuracies, for there can be no doubt of the correctness of the dates in the official records of the Council, and they are confirmed by Rogers' own declaration that he had never given any offence except by his Paul's Cross sermon, and of that he had been acquitted.

It is worthy of notice that several others (among whom was Bradford, who certainly does not appear, up to this time, to have done anything particularly obnoxious), who were arraigned upon the same day, were at once committed to prison; and, indeed, it appears to have been the invariable custom to order all who were arrested, about that time, into close confinement, without the least delay. The question naturally arises, why this apparent leniency was particularly manifested towards Rogers? Why, while his fellows of all classes, even those of equal and superior rank, were unceremoniously hurried into the crowded and filthy jails of that period, was he alone placed under merely nominal restraint, and not even required to pledge his word that he would not attempt to escape? Why was it that, for nearly six months, he alone was permitted this comparative liberty, allowed constant intercourse with his family, and only prohibited by a verbal mandate from quitting his house? We hear of no resistance to this command, no attempt to violate his implied parole, and, at the same time, of no surveillance of any sort that prevented him, at any moment, from leaving his residence, the city, and the land. The reply to these inquiries is self-evident. He was recognised by the Papist party as a man of extraordinary abilities, both as a scholar and a leader among the Reformers, and as such was both hated and feared.

His moderation, command of temper, and remarkable judgment, added to his boldness and religious zeal, rendered him far more dangerous to their cause than most, or even any, of his associates. Simple imprisonment, to a man like him, would have been the weakest punishment that they could have inflicted, and would have failed to produce the desired results. They had not, as they well knew, the same grounds for making him a State prisoner that they had in other cases. Ridley's offence, for instance, was not a religious, but a political one. He had wantonly insulted and spoken treasonably of the Queen herself, and it was for this, rather than that he was an obnoxious Protestant Bishop, that he had been first arrested, and so summarily sent to the Tower, in company with other political prisoners. But Rogers had evidently recognised the sovereignty of the Queen, even while he had so zealously preached against her religion, and they doubtless had the good sense to perceive his right so to preach, so long as the Acts establishing his own religion had not been legally repealed. It would seem that the wholesale imprisonment of the more prominent Protestants was effected in order to put them out of the way, so that their personal influence among the people might be restrained, and also that they might be had in readiness for any disposition that the law might afterwards authorise. But with regard to Rogers, they evidently had other views. Esteeming him, probably, from the considerations mentioned, as the most dangerous of his class, and having failed to entrap him by their ingeniously concocted scheme so signally defeated by his Paul's Cross sermon, they made this unusual order; not doubting, from his character, that he would perhaps obey their com-

mand for a time, but trusting that he would grow weary of even such moderate restraint, and that the influence and entreaties of his family and friends would, sooner or later, induce him to turn his back upon the cause which he had espoused, and seek personal safety by flight. What a triumph for them would such a result have been! What a blow would it have inflicted upon the Protestant cause! With what reproach and ignominy would his name have been deservedly covered, and how would the weaker members of his faith have been shocked, and perhaps shaken from their allegiance, when they saw themselves and their cause thus abandoned, by one to whom they had been accustomed to look for guidance and support, by both precept and example!

Here, again, it may be asserted, was cast upon the single man—John Rogers—almost the entire responsibility of maintaining, at this juncture, the existence and integrity of the Protestant movement in England. It would be wrong to say that there were not others who might have exhibited the same degree of firmness. It is to be hoped that there were some, perhaps many, who would have done so. But the more timorous had already made their escape into other lands, while all or nearly all the others, of any note, were incarcerated in the various prisons, where they had no opportunity to evince more than a calm and resigned endurance of their personal sufferings. With them, escape was impossible, too probably even upon condition of public recantation, and they had every reason to expect that death would be their ultimate doom. Under these circumstances, it was comparatively ea y for them to manifest a great degree of resolution, and sometimes even defiance, for they had nothing either to gain or lose by such a course.

But here was a solitary man, enjoying comparative freedom in the midst of a throng of bitter enemies, who were restrained only by motives of policy from instantly taking his life. Every motive to preserve that life, that humanity could suggest, operated upon him with its fullest force. He was a happy husband and father, and his death, in his present condition, would inevitably cast his family upon the charity of the world. He also knew that he could return with them to his old charge in Saxony, where he might live for many years, in the pursuit of his professional labours. He was not then a very old man, and life and liberty were as dear to him as to any one. He would not resist the authorities whom he recognised as set over him by the Divine Ruler, and therefore all ability for doing good in England, by preaching or by his daily conversation, was taken from him. Surely, these were sufficient motives to have justified any man, in his circumstances, in availing himself of the opportunity purposely afforded him to escape, had he not been actuated by higher and holier ones than those of personal comfort and safety. But he had already conscientiously determined upon his course, and regarded that so strongly urged upon him as little less than absolute apostacy. God, and not his enemies, had created the circumstances by which he was surrounded. God had manifested to his own mind His intention to use him as an instrument for working out His great purposes, and he had no thought or desire of averting the responsibilities thus laid upon him. So, greatly to the disappointment and disgust of his enemies, he remained "a prisoner in his own house," and calmly awaited the next scene in the important drama in which he was to be so prominent an actor.

It appears, however, that he did not forbid a resort to any proper means to effect his enlargement. He evidently acquiesced in the efforts made by his family and friends to procure a reversal of the order, with the terms of which he was so strictly complying. How perfect was this compliance, and how sincere his reverence for the direction of the Scriptures to be obedient unto the authorities set over us, his own expressive language will determine: "I was," said he to Gardiner, "almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient unto you, God it knoweth, and *spake with no man.*" But, although he was personally prohibited from all intercourse beyond his immediate family, it appears that the restriction did not extend to his noble-hearted wife, who, by his own testimony, busied herself greatly in attempts to accomplish his liberation. On one occasion, as he declares, she, being even then near her confinement, accompanied by eight female friends, paid a formal visit to Gardiner, then Lord Chancellor, at his house at Richmond, to intercede with that Prelate and State dignitary for her husband's discharge. The time selected for making this appeal was singularly judicious; for, it appears that it was either upon Christmas day, or during the festivities of Christmas week, when, if ever, it would be supposed that even Gardiner's flinty heart might have opened to some slight impulse of humanity. Their mission, however, proved fruitless.

The residence of Rogers at this time was within the Cathedral Close, the boundaries of which extended on one side to Paternoster Row and Ave-Maria Lane, and on the other to Old Change, Carter Lane, and Creed Lane, as they now exist. Within these limits, in the time of Old St. Paul's, were erected various buildings

for the use and occupancy of the Bishop of London and the other Cathedral dignitaries, one of which was assigned to Rogers as his official residence. It is impossible, of course, to determine its precise locality, but Foxe states (in his Latin edition) that it was in immediate proximity to the house of Bonner*, and declares that the fact of having Rogers for so near a neighbour was exceedingly disagreeable to that selfish Prelate.

During all the time that he was thus detained in his own house, he was deprived of the avails of his various livings, although it seems that he was not, and probably could not legally be, of the livings themselves; for, although we find a successor (Thomas Chetteham†) collated to the Prebend of St. Pancras on the 10th of October, 1553, none was appointed to succeed him in the Vicarage of St. Sepulchre until February 11th, 1555, when George Bullock‡ was instituted, just one

* The Bishop's house is stated, in old records, to have been situated in the angle formed by Paternoster Row and Ave Maria Lane, and the identity of the site is still indicated by what is known as London-House Yard. The position of the house occupied by Rogers may, therefore, be very nearly determined, and it is a curious coincidence, worthy of record, that the present volume, the first elaborate history of him and his acts ever written, is published on the very spot where he resided more than three centuries ago.

† Thomas Chetham (or Chetteham), originally an Augustinian monk, and, previous to this time, a Suffragan of Bonner, under the title of Bishop of Sidon. Little is known of him, as he does not appear to have taken an active part in the persecutions of that period. Cardinal Pole made him his Suffragan for the diocese of Canterbury, in 1557, and he died in or about July, 1558. He was succeeded in this Prebend, in October, 1558, by Robert Willanton, who will be noticed hereafter.—*Newcourt's Repertorium; Coopers' Athenæ Cantabrigienses.*

‡ George Bullock appears to have been, from first to last, a thorough and consistent Papist, but there is no evidence of his being personally engaged in the persecutions by his Church. In 1556, he resigned this Rectory for other preferments, which he held until the accession of Queen

week after Rogers had been burned in Smithfield. This arbitrary and unwarranted exercise of power must have caused him and his family serious inconvenience, and we find him referring to it in his bold declaration to Gardiner that he had dealt with him most cruelly, both by placing and keeping him in confinement, unlawfully, at great costs and charges, and in depriving him of the means to pay them and to support his family, which was also against the law.

His transfer from this quasi-confinement in his own dwelling, to the privations and severities of Newgate, occurred on Saturday, the 27th of January, 1554, a little more than five months after the commencement of his restraint. It appears to have been effected mainly at the instigation of Bonner, sustained, of course, by the authority of Gardiner, who must have given the final direction. Foxe declares (in his Latin edition) that "Bonner had long striven, with his utmost power, to accomplish this result, as he could not abide such an honest neighbour." The particular enmity of these two men towards Rogers, which seems to have greatly exceeded that which they manifested towards any other among the Reformers, amounted to a consistent and persevering malignity, which must have had some other cause than mere personal dislike.

Mr. Maitland appears to be of the opinion that Rogers was, or at least was really considered, a political rather than a religious offender, or, to use his own severe description, "a demagogue and seditious person."* He certainly has no evidence to sustain this

Elizabeth, when, refusing to acknowledge her supremacy, he went abroad, and finally died in a monastery at Antwerp, about 1580.—*Newcourt; Coopers, &c.*

* Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England, by Rev. S. R. Maitland, D.D. London, 1849.

presumption, except the gratuitous intimations of certain Papist writers of those and subsequent times*, whose testimony will hardly be received on this subject by the world at large, in preference to the clearer proofs to the contrary. Nothing can be more certain than that his opponents, from first to last, failed most signally to establish his connection with any of the political movements of the day, and we have his own dying testimony that he never even so much as spoke against the Queen or her authority. It is a matter of some astonishment and regret, that so respectable a writer should have deemed it necessary, even in his generous attempt to relieve such a character as that of Bonner from some portion of the odium attached to it by the whole world, thus to cast an imputation upon the Martyr which appears to be entirely unwarranted. It is only necessary to examine the original sentence of condemnation, passed upon Rogers by Gardiner himself, which Foxe fortunately preserved, to set this question at rest.† Surely, no authority could be more decisive than this. By reference to that document, it appears that he was "accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of" — not any political offence, but — "*heresy*." Eventually the tribunal finds that he has "taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended" — not treasonable opinions concerning the Queen or the civil Government, but — "divers *errors*, *heresies*, and *damnable opinions*, *contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy Church:*" and, as

* Parsons was the most notorious writer of this stamp, and made the most reckless assertions without advancing a particle of proof; but even he was frank enough, in a number of instances, to bear testimony to the high moral and intellectual character of Rogers, and always named him as one of the very front rank among the Reformers.

† See Appendix.

if to assure posterity that these heresies were not political ones, they are distinctly defined as follows: "That the Catholic Church of Rome is the Church of Anti-Christ," and "that, in the Sacrament of the Altar, there is not, substantially and really, the natural body and blood of Christ." These are the charges, and the only ones, on which he was tried, found guilty, and condemned; and these he never denied. Gardiner declared him to have been guilty of "*heretical pravity* and *execrable doctrine*," and finally condemned him "as guilty of most detestable *heresies*, and as an obstinate, impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother Church." Nothing can be clearer than that his offence was purely a religious one, and, with this official document before his eyes, it seems extraordinary that any one can be found in these times to make a contrary allegation. Whatever his opponents may have thought, or pretended to think, or sought to urge, with reference to his connection with the tumult at Paul's Cross, on the occasion of Bourne's sermon, is nothing to the purpose. It is certain that he was neither accused or tried on such a charge, and there can be no doubt that they would gladly have availed themselves of the opportunity to convict him of treason, had it presented itself. Finally, when Gardiner ventured to hint at such a thing, on the day when he so sadly lost his reason and his temper, Rogers instantly and indignantly defied him to the proof, and no more was heard of it. With the greatest respect for Dr. Maitland, we must look elsewhere for the explanation of the conduct of the man whom he so unsuccessfully attempts to defend.

The real cause may perhaps be found in one or all

of the following suggestions. Bonner was evidently a man of unbridled selfishness and unrestrained passions. He hated Ridley most cordially, because he had occupied his seat in the See of London, and, of course, his enmity also embraced those of his subordinates who filled stalls or other offices in the Cathedral. He recognised Rogers as one who, in Ridley's administration, occupied a post hitherto held by one of his own creatures, the control of which he could not again acquire until Rogers should be legally deprived of it. The Prebendary was in the Bishop's way, and he sought to remove him in the most effectual manner. He also perhaps attributed to him, as one of the leading Reformers in the time of Edward VI., some influence in his own deprivation in 1549; and he was a man who never forgot an injury, real or fancied, however slight, but revenged himself, when opportunity served, a thousand fold. So much for his personal motives. He was also shrewd enough to appreciate Rogers' ability and influence as a religious opponent, and, for the sake of his own Church, was anxious that so wise a counsellor and so powerful a debater should be silenced for ever. That he would willingly have effected his close incarceration, or even his death, at a much earlier period, there can be little doubt; but he was compelled to yield to the policy of his superiors, who still hoped to witness his voluntary flight, the results of which would have been infinitely more important to their cause.

As to Gardiner, in addition to the above considerations, which probably weighed with him to some extent, he had always been the most bitter and unrelenting enemy of every one who had had anything to do with the translation, publication, or distribution of

the English Scriptures. When the Matthew Bible was issued, in 1537, he was in France, and comparatively powerless; but, after his return, in the latter part of 1538, he exerted all his power and influence to prevent its further circulation. Rogers, from his superior connection with it, had of course rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious, and, at almost the first moment of the renewal of his power under Queen Mary, the Archbishop singled him out for persecution, well knowing that, as Lord Chancellor, he would eventually have the gratification of presiding at his trial and condemnation. Gardiner could not resist the opportunities afforded by the official proceedings connected with his trial, but very unnecessarily added to his real name what he apparently regarded the stigmatising *alias* "Matthew" — an evident indication that, at least, one of his chief offences lay in the work which he had performed under that appellation.

The malignity of both of these men did not cease, when they had consigned him to the worst and most loathsome prison then in London — the common receptacle for offenders of the lowest, and criminals of the highest, grades. From all the evidence, it appears that the restrictions imposed and the severities inflicted upon him far exceeded those endured by any similar prisoner. Very little is known of his personal history during the year that he remained in Newgate, for he seems to have made no complaint, but rather to have borne his sufferings manfully. Foxe declares that he was even "merry," but that word, in his time, signified less than it now implies. The incidents of this year will be related as consecutively as possible.

Queen Mary was crowned on the 1st of October, 1553, and her first Parliament assembled on the 5th of

the same month, accompanied, as was customary, by a Convocation of the Bishops and other Church dignitaries. Before this latter body was almost immediately brought the subject of a certain Catechism, which had been issued in King Edward's time, and which was now held to contain heretical doctrines, and to be otherwise obnoxious. A serious and protracted disputation took place at St. Paul's concerning it, its chief defender being John Philpot — then Archdeacon of Winchester, and not yet fallen under the ban of the persecuting Government — who, in his speech on the 19th of October, urged that the authors and publishers of that work should be allowed to come before the Convocation on its behalf, and particularly desired that "Ridley and Rogers, and two or three more," should have the like privilege,— deeming it unfair and unjust that it should be unceremoniously condemned, without even the formality of a defence by those of its friends most capable of maintaining its validity. This proposition, reasonable as it was, was rejected, and Philpot himself was numbered among the prospective victims.* A public discussion at that time was by no means desirable, and the persons named were still too powerful among the people to render it a safe concession to make.

Matters remained in this condition until the 10th of April, 1554, when Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were carried from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to Oxford, ostensibly to dispute with the principal Doctors of the Universities. The probability is that they had little or no warning of this movement, and no opportunity for preparation, for it appears that, at first,

* Philpot, after suffering the most cruel indignities and hardships at the hands of Bonner, was finally burnt at Smithfield, December 18th, 1555.

they even imagined that they were being led forth to a summary trial and execution. The plot had been very nicely contrived; the disputants selected having their parts perfect, and everything being arranged so that, while it should appear to the public that the Protestant champions were fairly conquered in argument, they were really to have no liberty at all; and the end of the farce was to be their condemnation by the Church as heretics. Instead of going, as they were led to suppose, to engage in a free and open debate, they were virtually dragged before a tribunal, which could not, indeed, pass upon their lives, but where the results would be little less momentous to them personally, as well as to their cause. The character of this so-called disputation, if we may judge from the descriptions given of it by Cranmer and Ridley, could scarcely be placed higher in comparison than what we may conceive of a hotly contested struggle at the hustings.

Elated with the results, or with those which they claimed by their partial and incorrect representations of this affair, and having for the time rid themselves of these three Bishops, the Papist leaders sought to pursue their scheme by involving other eminent Protestant leaders in a similar disgrace. They failed, however, in this project; for when, in the latter part of the same month or in the beginning of May, it was proposed that Rogers, with Hooper, Bradford, and others, should be sent to Cambridge to engage in another disputation, there appears to have been a general consultation among them, the result of which, in conformity with Ridley's advice, was a determination not to consent to such a discussion,—on the ground, chiefly, that the tribunal before which they would have to appear would be a partial one, from which justice could

not be obtained, and therefore more harm than good would result to their own cause. But, that this decision might not be construed into cowardice or even lukewarmness on their part, and that their reasons might be placed upon record, they drew up and signed a paper setting forth the causes of their refusal, and recounting certain Articles of Faith, which, for simplicity and conciseness, has never been excelled by any similar document. By whom it was written, cannot now be determined, though it is generally attributed, and perhaps properly, to Bradford; but it unquestionably represented the views of all who signed it, each of whom thus made it his own, and, as Rogers was especially concerned in it, as one of the chief of the proposed disputants, it is properly introduced into the present history.*

Apart from the sound Scriptural doctrines embodied in this production, and the admirable spirit which pervades it, it furnishes most satisfactory evidence upon two points worthy of especial attention. First, it is plain that, at that time, the authors of it had confidence in, at least, the justice of both the Queen and the civil Government, and regarded the clergy only as their enemies. Many of the Protestant leaders, — and, as has been shown, Rogers was among the number,—however they dreaded Mary's accession and its probable results, nevertheless, like good citizens and loyal subjects, admitted her right to the throne. Some, of whom Hooper is known to have been one, went still further, and openly exerted their influence in her behalf. They appear to have discriminated between her and her civil advisers, and those to whom she entrusted the spiritual concerns of the realm. They were, in this instance, unwilling to trust them-

* See Appendix, p. 407.

selves and their cause to the mercy of the Papist Doctors, who would have been their only antagonists and judges, and in whose fairness and honour, as recent experience had taught them, they could place no reliance, but they were ready cheerfully to cast themselves upon the justice of the Queen, her Council, and even the whole Parliament. There is no doubt that they were actuated to some extent by the knowledge that, if their proposal was accepted, the discussion would be a public one, and thus a correct and candid account of their part in it would be ensured; but their language meant more than this: it expressed their honest confidence in the Queen herself, and was, under the circumstances, a compliment of which she might have justly been proud.

Secondly, the declarations contained in this paper, made, as they were, in the most solemn manner, and in an instrument which they evidently intended as a perpetual legacy to the Church and the world, afford the most absolute refutation of the idle notion that these men were ever treated, or even regarded, as political offenders. There can be no more positive or explicit language than they use on this point. "We are confined," they say, "not as rebels, traitors, seditious persons, thieves, or transgressors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the Queen's Highness, or of any of the Council's (God's name be praised therefor!), but alonely for the conscience we have to God and His most holy Word and Truth, upon most certain knowledge." Is it likely that such men as we know these to have been then uttered a deliberate falsehood? Such it must have been, if untrue, for this declaration was not the result of a momentary suggestion or caprice, but of careful, pro-

tracted, and deliberate consultation. There is not a class of political offences that their enumeration does not embrace, and it is evident that they intended to record their solemn asseveration of the fact thus stated. Is their testimony of less value than that of the flippant Parsons and his coadjutors?

But having thus defined their position, how do they proceed to confirm it? Do they advise, or even indirectly suggest, resistance to the authorities? No; for addressing, not their enemies or their personal friends, but, comprehensively and unmistakably, "the whole congregation and Church of England,"—after declaring that they write and send their statement abroad purposely, that their good brethren and sisters may know what are their true sentiments, and asserting their readiness to die, if necessary, in their defence,—they conclude thus:—"humbly requiring, and, in the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ, beseeching all that fear God to behave themselves as obedient subjects to the Queen's Highness, and the superior powers which are ordained of God under her; rather, after our example, to give their heads to the block, than in any point to rebel or once to mutter against the Lord's Anointed,"—and here, as if purposely to prevent any possible misconstruction on the part of either friends or foes, they pointedly add—"we mean our sovereign lady, Queen Mary." Is this the language and advice of rebellious, or seditious, or even politically disaffected men?

But again, they repeat their urgent solicitations on this subject. The first quotation appears at the commencement of the document, the second in about the middle, and, just before they finally close it, they again enforce their sentiments and express their desires as follows:—"In the mean season, as obedient subjects, we

shall behave ourselves towards all that be in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them, that He would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the spirit of wisdom and grace: and so we heartily desire and humbly pray all men to do—in no point consenting to any kind of rebellion or sedition against our sovereign lady, the Queen's Highness — but, where they cannot obey but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves, with all patience and humility, to suffer as the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge."

It seems impossible that more than one construction can be reasonably placed upon language so plain as this. If it were less unequivocal, there might be some grounds for entertaining the notion of some, that this document was written for merely temporary effect; but it would seem, from its own internal evidence, that the authors of it foresaw that attempts to distort its meaning would be made, and took especial pains to prevent their success, by using the clearest and most positive terms of which the English language is capable. Let those who will, whatever their motives, rather trust the unsustained assertions of their enemies: we may safely accept the testimony of the signers of this Declaration, without a fear that we shall be misled.

In what manner Rogers employed his time while thus confined in Newgate, there are no means of ascertaining, and the only information that exists respecting him, during this period, extends to but two or three comparatively minor matters. That his exclusion was very strict, and that he was debarred the use of his books, and also prohibited (though perhaps not entirely prevented) from writing, is very evident. That his restrictions in this respect were more severe than those to which his companions were subjected, is also

very certain; for not a line of his has come down to us, while the preserved writings of his fellow-prisoners are, in some instances, quite voluminous. Foxe, with all his faults, took care to preserve the emanations of even the faintest lights in the galaxy of the martyrs, and would hardly have purposely omitted the more brilliant rays of so superior a luminary.

It might seem, from one paragraph in his Examinations, that his seclusion was not so strict as has been hitherto stated; for he speaks of writing two "supplications," or petitions, to Gardiner, while in Newgate (to which, of course, no attention was paid even if they reached him), and also of sending his wife to him many times, probably to urge some abatement of his treatment. He also adds that Mr. Gosnold, and other friends, endeavoured earnestly, but vainly, to obtain from the Lord Chancellor some alleviation of his sufferings. In another place, he mentions having heard some general things said at the table, while at his meals. But these are the only instances in which he appears to have had the slightest communication with the outward world, or any knowledge of what was transpiring beyond his prison walls. So far as the latter is concerned, he evidently knew nothing of the matters to which Gardiner called his attention, and he meant, probably, that he had heard only such things as his prison attendants casually conversed about while in his presence. Even if the prisoners had their meals at a common table, it is not likely that they were allowed to indulge in unrestricted conversation, or, if they had that liberty, that they were very well informed concerning the events of the day. That there must, at times, have been some freedom of association permitted the prisoners, or at least some mode of communication

between them, must be admitted, in order to account for the existence of the document which has just been quoted, the signers of which were then incarcerated in different prisons. That, however, was a case where some such intercourse would necessarily have been allowed, for it was earnestly desired that they should agree to dispute with the Doctors of the University, and they could not be forced to do so against their wills. Probably, some man like Mr. Gosnold*, not obnoxious to the Government, and even favourably disposed towards the Reformation, had been selected to carry on this delicate negotiation, and, while really fulfilling the duty entrusted to him, was privately the agent of the imprisoned preachers in obtaining their signatures to the paper in question, and eventually the means of its reaching the public eye.

As regards what he says concerning his wife, it is not necessary to suppose that he had any direct communication with her, although it is possible that such may have been the case during the earlier part of his confinement, while it is very certain that it was not during the latter part. The two petitions, which he declares that he sent to Gardiner, may have never left the prison gates; and such may also have been the fate of any messages which he endeavoured to transmit to his wife: or, he may have meant only that he was aware that she had thus made several appeals to the

* John Gosnold. He had held various important offices during the reign of Edward VI., having been in Parliament, Master in Chancery, and a member of the Privy Council. He was appointed Solicitor General, May 21st, 1552. He appears also to have been a member of Mary's first Parliament, which met in October, 1553, but evidently died during the ensuing year, or certainly before February, 1555, without having become obnoxious to the new Government. We can judge of his character only from the reference made to him by Rogers.—*Foss's Judges of England: Journals of the House of Commons; Burnet, &c.*

Lord Chancellor. But giving to his words their fullest import, it is quite certain that, for a long time previous to his death, he had had no intercourse with or knowledge of his family. His extreme anxiety to see his wife, and his urgent appeals to both Gardiner and Bonner, prove this; for he must have been aware, from the first, what would be his probable fate, and would not have failed to give her, before he was taken from her, the counsel and instructions, to do which, as he alleged, was the object of that solicitude.

Foxe records an occurrence, apparently of small importance, but yet not unworthy of being mentioned; for when so little, personally, is known of him, it is necessary that the most trifling circumstance should not pass unnoticed. It would appear that, at that time, the prisoners in Newgate were compelled to procure, or pay for, their own provisions. The Government furnished them a lodging, free of expense, but no food. Foxe so declares, and Rogers himself seems to have intimated as much, when he told Gardiner that he had been "a full year in Newgate, at great cost and charges." Possibly they only meant that the ordinary prison fare was of such a character, that those accustomed to comfortable living could not endure it. On the opposite side of the prison were confined a number, whose poverty prevented them from always having a sufficiency. Rogers, it seems, proposed that he and his fellow-prisoners should restrict themselves to a single daily meal, but should pay the full price for two, and that the other one should be distributed among those who were suffering. This generous project on his part appears to have failed, owing to some disinclination on the part of the jailer—Alexander Andrew by name, whom Foxe styles "a strait man, and a right

Alexander—a coppersmith indeed "*—but we are left without information as to the nature of his objections. They are, however, of no particular importance, and the only value of the incident consists in its revelation of a trait in the character of the Martyr.

The only other publication with which Rogers appears to have had any connection, during this period, is a Petition, intended to be and perhaps actually presented to Parliament, from the preachers then in the various prisons.† As its address also included the King and Queen, it refers, of course, to the Parliament that met on the 12th of November, 1554, and its date may be fixed in that or the succeeding month; especially as it embraces the declaration that the signers of it had then been in confinement for fifteen or sixteen months,—the first arrests having been made in the month of August, 1553. It is well written, and has also been attributed to Bradford, whose early legal education rendered him peculiarly fitted for its authorship. Claiming to have always been, and still to be, loyal and obedient subjects, as well of their present Majesties as of their predecessors,—and to have violated no laws of the realm, that should make them traitors, or of the Church, by which they should be deemed heretics,—they merely asked to be allowed a free and open discussion of the peculiar doctrines, for their attachment to which they were then suffering, and

* Foxe gives a particular account of the subsequent cruelties and disgusting death of this man, and places the latter, as usual, in the category of his remarkable retributions. The writer is, however, heretical enough to presume that the "rottenness of his carcass" resulted rather from physical than moral causes, and refers to the subject here, only to express, thus generally, his appreciation of this and similar statements of the "Historian of the Reformation."

† See Appendix, p. 415.

avowed their readiness to submit to any punishment that might be awarded, in case they failed, before indifferent judges, to establish their grounds for the faith which they professed. If this Petition ever reached the parties to whom it was addressed (for the Parliamentary Journals are silent concerning it), it failed to receive a favourable response. That Parliament was too busy in reviving the old laws against heresy, and in creating new ones for proceeding against the Reformers with greater severity, to pay any attention to such a request from men already marked as victims; and, besides, the experiment would have been too dangerous, even had they been at all disposed to consent to such an act of justice.

It is by no means certain that other writings of those times, heretofore attributed to various hands, do not rightfully owe their paternity to Rogers. There are many assigned to Bradford and others, the authorship of which has never been clearly proved, and which are quite as likely to have been his as theirs. It is not designed, however, to claim for him any, concerning which there is a shadow of doubt. On the other hand, certain productions have been ascribed to him, which it is quite certain he did not write, and to one of these attention is now directed.

It will, perhaps, produce a feeling of disappointment (and, with very many, a pleasing one), when they learn that the verses purporting to have been written by the Martyr while in prison, addressed to his children, commencing with the line, "Give ear, my children, to my words," are apocryphal. Among New England readers, and especially those of the last two or three generations, who will not fail to connect them with other portions of the dreaded "Primer" of their youthful

days, the impression will be similar to that with which they would receive the conviction that the Bible itself was a forgery. Such, however, is the fact, and it cannot be a very melancholy one to those who may have doubted their authenticity, thinking the Martyr's abilities to have been of a higher order than they betray, and believing that his last hours must have been occupied with matters of graver import than the construction of very indifferent rhymes. It is strange that the error in attributing them to Rogers should not have been detected and exposed, during a period of three hundred years, when the slightest research would have been sufficient to do so. They were written by one Robert Smith, who was burnt at Uxbridge, August 8th, 1555. Their first publication appears to have been in 1559, in a volume (mentioned by Herbert) composed of various articles written by Bradford, Hooper, and others, where they bore the title—"An Exhortation of Mathewe Rogers vnto his children." Ritson states that a copy in the library of Emanuel College bears the name of "Thomas Mathew," and also that the "piece" was commonly known as "John Rogerses primmer."* During the few years immediately succeeding Rogers' death, there being no one to correct the mistake authoritatively, their authorship was thus attributed to him, under either his real or fictitious name. But when Foxe issued the first edition of his Acts and Monuments, having before him the original MSS. of most of his characters, and possessing every facility for accuracy and every motive for correctness (facilities and motives, of which, alas! he did not always avail himself), he restored to them their legi-

* Bibliographia Poetica, 1802, p. 334.

timate paternity. In this edition (1563), in the sketch of the life and martyrdom of Smith, these verses are found among his other letters and metrical productions, and are entitled—"The Exhortacion of Robert Smith vnto his children, *commenly set out in the name of Maister Rogers.*" It is hardly possible that Foxe could have made any mistake, as he includes them among other similar writings known to have been Smith's, and as he could have had no difficulty in determining their respective authenticity. The writer has found three copies of them among the MSS. of Foxe in the British Museum*, two of which are entitled "Master Rogers' Ryme to his Children," but Foxe's peculiar description of them, in his first edition, clearly shows that he then purposely corrected the error. They are omitted in several of the subsequent editions of Foxe's work, being generally referred to in the account of Smith as among "divers letters he wrote there in the prison to sundry his friends in metre," but are repeated in the edition of 1596, where they are positively attributed to Smith, and later commentators confirm this decision. Bale, in 1557, received the then common opinion as correct, and, in a list of published works by Rogers, includes "*Ad filios ex carcere*";† while Tanner, nearly two hundred years later, simply quotes from him, without taking the trouble to investigate his correctness, although he admits that Foxe ascribes them to Smith.‡ In this way the mistake has been perpetuated in England; while in the United States, or rather in New England, the almost sacred

* Lansdowne MS. 389.

† Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Britanniæ, p. 676.

‡ Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, 1748, p. 640.

character of the "New England Primer" prevented any suspicion on the subject. The verses were first published in that little volume (next only to the Bible in the early Puritan households) as early as 1690, as a second edition, in which they are particularly specified, is advertised in an almanac printed at Boston in 1691; and it is hardly necessary to say, to any one of New England origin, that they have been, from that day to this, in the form of lessons to be committed to memory, the cause of many a weary hour of penance, as well as of innumerable corporeal punishments, to successive rising generations. It is, perhaps, due to their real author to state that the copy in the "New England Primer" is a garbled version, as it contains but thirty-nine verses, with more or less variations in the language. The original number was forty-six, — and the sadness of the memories connected with them may be somewhat tempered by the reflection, that the absence of those seven additional verses has saved the youthful scions of New England a vast amount of mental and physical suffering.

Foxe states distinctly, in his brief notice of the Martyr's prison life, that "he wrote much"; but, as he gives us only the Account of his own Examinations, as written by himself, and a few other pages which were discovered at the same time, and as we have at this day, with the exception of his Contributions to the Matthew Bible and his Translation of Melancthon's little tract, literally nothing else that we can determine to be from his pen, it is very evident, either that much which he wrote has been unaccountably lost, or that others are receiving the credit properly due to him. Foxe also states that "during the time of his imprisonment, strait search there was to take away his letters and writings",

which were, doubtless, if any were discovered, at once destroyed, thus accounting for their present non-existence, and affording another proof of the unusual severity to which he was subjected. Both Bale and Tanner give lists of works attributed to him, but, as they are known to be, in some instances, incorrectly thus ascribed, doubt is thrown upon the others, and it is not deemed advisable to aid in perpetuating the uncertainty, by recounting here even their titles.*

* It is possible that some of the readers of this work may find, among their neglected volumes, one or more *bearing his name.* If so, the writer will be very grateful if they will communicate with him (through the Publishers) on the subject. None of the works attributed to him by Bale are to be found in any of the public libraries to which he has had access, nor have his earnest efforts, by advertisement and otherwise, led to the discovery of any one of them in private hands.

CHAPTER V.

PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION.

Cause of the long Delay in the final Disposition of the Martyrs.—Queen Mary not so black as she has been painted.—Discussion of her History and Character.—Gardiner dissected and assigned his appropriate Place.—Mary's third Parliament.—The Acts against Heresy revived.—Immediate Action under them.—Rogers' first Examination before the Council.—His own Account of it.—How discovered.—Foxe's Mutilation and Misrepresentation of it.—Discovery of the Copy used by Foxe.—Comparison of the two Versions.—Synopsis of Rogers' Account.—Spirited Colloquies with Gardiner.—Defeats him in Argument and in Appeals to Facts.—The whole Proceeding a Farce.—Rogers returns to Newgate.—Writes his Account by Stealth.—General public Rejoicing.—Preparations for the final Scenes.

It has often been a source of wonder, that so long a time was suffered to elapse, before the final proceedings were taken against the martyrs in the Marian reign. Nearly eighteen months passed away, after the date of the first arrest, before the first trial and condemnation took place. During all this time, even from the day of the Queen's accession, the power of the Papist party had been absolute. The Protestants had been summarily and effectively crushed, at the very outset; so thoroughly, at least, that any hope on their part, or fear on that of their opponents, of a successful resistance to the new régime, was destroyed. It is not enough to say that, until now, there was no law authorising the last severe measures, for there had been none to justify the arrest, deprivation, or imprisonment of the preachers. This is an admitted fact, and not a question of theory.

All the means employed to silence and restrain the leading spirits of the Reformation had been, solely and unequivocally, those of sheer force, without a shadow of right or justice. Not a statute law or a municipal ordinance had been violated by them, for it had been both their disposition and policy, and even one of the leading requirements of their religion, to avoid resistance to the authorities, and a conflict with the civil Government. The same arbitrary power that was exercised in these preliminary measures was equally capable of being extended, at any moment, to the complete destruction of its victims. Why, then, was the fatal sword so long kept suspended over the heads of those whose final doom had undoubtedly been fixed, from the first, in the determination of the real directors of the new Government?

It is to be hoped that the true secret of this remarkable delay rested with the Queen herself, and the writer is one of those who honestly think that it did. It would be idle to become apologists for any of the acts that justly branded her reign with the terrible epithet that indicates the frightful colour in which it still appears on the page of history, and those cannot justly be called such, who avow their conviction that her personal memory is entitled to some modification of the odium so long attached to it. At the best, it must be confessed that her character demands disapproval and compassion, but perhaps does not merit that supreme degree of abhorrence in which it has been so usual and universal to indulge. It is difficult to conceive of a *man*, so utterly lost to every sense of decency and justice, as to be guilty of all the crimes that have been laid to her charge. Even Nero possessed some traits to be admired, and was not altogether an incarnate demon.

Much more difficult is it to imagine a *woman*, so frightfully abandoned and brutalised as she must have been, if responsible for every thing that was done in her name. It is to be feared that she consented, willingly or unwillingly, to much of the revolting barbarity of her time; but that she either planned the peculiar persecutions of her subjects that were resorted to, or personally directed their performance, may very conscientiously be doubted. Whatever were her weaknesses and prejudices, or, if it must be said, her errors and sins, that she was an honest as well as earnest religionist, her entire personal history establishes beyond controversy. Her constancy and devotion to the faith in which she had been reared — a false faith in our estimation, but true as Heaven itself in hers — are, in themselves, as much to be admired as the same qualities when manifested by those who perished under her sceptre.

From her earliest existence, she had been taught to believe, and did believe, that hers was the only true Church, and that heresy concerning it was the most heinous of all crimes. As she grew up, her advisers, both secular and spiritual, were all of that peculiar religious faith, and we may reasonably believe that none others were allowed by them to approach her. She was, doubtless, familiar with the Bible in the Latin tongue, but it is more than probable that she was never suffered to examine one of the English translations; or, if it had fallen into her hands, her teachings had been such that she would have spurned it, and avoided its perusal as the commission of a deadly sin.*

* She is represented as having told Bishop Ridley, on one occasion, when he offered to preach before her, before she came to the throne, that she had never read any of his new books — for which she thanked God — and that she never would. In this she but obeyed the teachings of her whole life, and the instructions of the only spiritual advisers whom she ever knew, and in whom she had any confidence.

Whether she was wholly responsible, under all the circumstances, for the existence of the belief and sentiments which she held, is left to the disputes of casuists.

But, besides all this, during the reign of her young brother, when the direction of the Government had fallen into the hands of those recognised by her Church and herself as its and her most earnest foes, the then Princess Mary not only saw her own friends persecuted with more or less severity, on account of their attachment to her and their religion, but these persecutions reached even her own person. Edward, either of his own accord or instigated by his advisers, absolutely denied her the privilege of celebrating religious worship in her own private household according to the dictates of her conscience, and even subjected to imprisonment certain of her officers who declined to interfere in the matter. Confident in her faith, she must have regarded herself in the light of a martyr for her religion, and this treatment left a sting in her heart, the effects of which could not be wholly eradicated.

When she ascended the throne, her first natural step was to call to her assistance, in both the civil and religious departments of her Government, those in whom she had confidence; and it would have been asking and expecting too much, that a majority, or even a considerable minority, should have been men whom she looked upon as enemies to her religion. It would, rather, have been surprising if she had retained even one of that class; and yet, that she did so, is a matter of history. They did not, perhaps, fill the most responsible places near her person, but they were, at least, members of her Parliament, whose presence therein must have been allowed or tolerated, for their admission could readily have been prevented. That

such men as Gardiner and Bonner would have been glad to resort to the severer measures finally adopted, at a much earlier period, there can, from their character, be little doubt. That there must have been some powerful restraining influence seems equally certain, and the writer takes a real pleasure in presuming its existence to have been in the bosom of the Queen, — glad of the opportunity of saying, with a degree of probability, something kind of one, of whom, alas! but little that is favourable can be recorded.

During the eighteen months referred to, the Papists were gradually but surely confirming their control of the affairs of both Church and State. By or before the expiration of this time, Gardiner had managed to secure in reality the supreme power, and the Queen was virtually a nonentity. That grand master of plotting and chicanery had successfully perfected his schemes, until, although apparently the humblest and fondest of her servants, he was in reality her most rigid and exacting master. The King *de jure* was but one of his tools: he was, himself, King *de facto*. It was his soft and silken hand that moved every concealed wire, and the whole army of officials, civil and religious, danced, like obedient puppets, to the tune he played. Step by step, with a determination in itself to be admired, did he climb to this eminence, carefully destroying the supports by which he rose, that, under no circumstances, could he be compelled to retrace his course. One by one did the Queen relinquish her royal prerogatives, and the people their rights, until there was nothing left for him to acquire, and no resort against idleness except to amuse himself with torturing the numerous victims whom he already had in readiness. And now, all things being carefully prepared, he proceeded to strike

the first grand blow, whose reverberations were never to cease until the Church militant should become the Church triumphant.

It may be questioned whether the Queen was cognisant of all his designs, and approved them, or whether she merely yielded her consent, conscious that any serious opposition, even if disposed to offer it, would then be unavailing. We surely may be allowed to hope that she did not foresee the extent to which he would carry his measures, and had no knowledge of the character of the instruments that he would employ. As the nominal monarch of the reign in which these atrocities were committed, she must ever justly bear the odium attached to them; but in that world where perfect justice will be awarded, perhaps it will be found that the man cannot, like Adam, transfer his offences to the weaker woman, and that, if there are different degrees of blackness in the final receptacle to which such characters are popularly consigned, the face of the unhappy Mary may be comparatively that of an angel of light, when contrasted with the ebon visage of her wretched minister.*

* The writer desires to say, once for all, that he has not formed his estimate of the character of Gardiner from any of the extravagancies of Foxe, whom, as an authority, unless thoroughly corroborated by other unimpeachable evidence, he utterly repudiates. Therefore, he omits the stereotyped accounts representing him as finally dying in the extremest physical and mental agonies, "the victim of a just retribution," &c., and merely quotes, in this connection, two or three passages not commonly accessible, from ancient and modern authors, in order to confirm his own weaker description. Lloyd, in his State Worthies, gives the most comprehensive, concise, and perhaps most just idea of him that can anywhere be found. He says: —

"He never did what he aimed at—never aimed at what he intended —never intended what he said—and never said what he thought: whereby he carried it so that others should do his business when they opposed it, and he should undermine theirs when he seemed to promote it. A man that was to be traced like the fox; and read, like the Hebrew,

The third Parliament after Mary's accession met on the 12th of November, 1554. After three efforts, Gardiner had at last brought together a body fitted for his purposes, and ready to carry out any measures that he might propose. Having already effected the marriage of the Queen with a foreign Papist Prince, abolished the English Church-service, and restored the authority of the Pope, his attention was now directed towards the disposition of the numerous prisoners; of whom, or, at least, of the chief of whom, he designed to make such fearful examples as would, according to his calculations, effectually check the progress of the Reformation, confirm his own power, and advance the interests of his Church. The Journals of this Parliament show that the very first bill introduced, at the opening of the session, had reference to this object, and nearly all the business subsequently transacted related to it. On the 30th of November, Cardinal Pole, as the Pope's legate, having

backward: if you would know what he did, you must observe what he did not."

Mr. Foss, in his Judges of England, says: —

"With every desire to give impartial consideration to the arguments of those who attempt to palliate his conduct, it is impossible to acquit him of *originating* the laws which authorised these cruel measures, and of *carrying them into effect* with their extremest severity; and, conscientious as some may think him in his zeal for ancient Church, none but the most bigoted can justify the measures he adopted for its restoration."

Lord Campbell, in his Lives of the Lord Chancellors, thinks his legal abilities and statesmanship to be commended, but that he was supremely ambitious, and "displayed a *happy lubricity of conscience*, which surmounted or evaded every obstacle, convincing him that his duty coincided with his interest." (Vol. ii. p. 70.)

The cold-blooded irony in this last quotation is equalled only by the truth it embodies, and the case may be safely submitted on this testimony. That Gardiner lived thereafter a short and wretched life, and died a miserable death, only about nine months after the execution of his first victim, are undoubtedly facts; but it is to be presumed that the latter event occurred simply because — his time had come.

reached London six days before, made his appearance in Parliament, when that body consummated its servile abandonment, by casting itself at his feet, humbly imploring pardon from his master for themselves and the country, and receiving a general absolution. From this time the work was easy. A few days only served to revive the Acts originally passed against the Lollards, in the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., punishing heresy with the greatest severity; which Acts had been rendered innoxious in the time of Henry VIII., and still more formally declared nugatory under Edward VI.* They were now to take effect from the 20th of the following January. Four days before this date, having accomplished, during its brief existence of only two months, all the mischief in its power, and placed in the hands of Gardiner all the authority and weapons of offence that he could desire, this Parliament was dissolved. The indecent haste with which proceedings against the imprisoned preachers were immediately commenced, fully proves the anxiety of the Papist leaders to inaugurate the work of destruction, and that they had only waited, although unwillingly, for this formal announcement of legal authority, lest more summary measures might have drawn down upon them the opposition of the people. In truth, the present laws, under which they were about professedly to act, were *ex post facto*, so far as the then prisoners were concerned,—their very restraint virtually preventing them from their violation since their revival; but it was not likely that the populace would make this nice discrimination, and, even if it did, the authorities were too powerful to fear any successful revolt.

* They were again finally and effectually repealed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

It was only the second day after the revived laws came into force, viz. on the 22nd of January, 1555, that the first official proceedings were taken under them. Some of the most important or dangerous of the so-called heretics, thirteen in number, appear to have been then in Newgate, and received the first attention. Eleven of these, besides Bradford, Ferrar, Saunders, and Taylor*, and perhaps more, from various other prisons, were brought on that day before Gardiner and the Privy Council, then sitting in the house of the former, near the church of St. Mary Overy (now St. Saviour's) in Southwark. Foxe says that all the preachers then in the different prisons were taken before the Council on that day, but this seems hardly possible, as they could not well have completed the examinations of so large a number. That of Rogers alone must have occupied not much less than an hour, if not more.

Those present officially on this occasion, of whom there is any record, were Gardiner, as presiding officer; the Bishops of Durham, Ely, and Worcester; the Lords Paget and William Howard; Secretary Bourne; and Sir Richard Southwell. The whole Council may have been assembled, but the names of no others are mentioned by Rogers in his own account of the affair. It was a mere preliminary proceeding, the object evidently being to receive the submissions of any who might have become weary of their long confinement, and disposed to recant; but, more especially, to entrap

* As these persons have no further connection with the history of Rogers, they may be disposed of collectively in a brief note. They were all excellent men, and all endured their sufferings and met their fate like men and Christians. Bradford was burnt at Smithfield, July 1st; Ferrar in Wales, March 30th; Saunders at Coventry, February 8th; and Taylor at Hadleigh, February 8th, all in the same year.

the others into some admission or declaration of their present heresies, which, occurring after the operation of the new laws, although the parties were still under illegal restraint, would furnish a more tangible ground for, and give a more decided colour to, the future more formal measures already determined upon.*

Of the eleven persons thus brought from Newgate before the Council, we have the names only of Rogers, Hooper, Crome†, and Harold Tomson. ‡ Concerning his ten companions on that day, Rogers says that one of them, who was a citizen of London, yielded to the compliances demanded; and that another, who was only required (through the friendship of a member of

* It is not unworthy of notice that no records of the Privy Council are to be found, embracing this and other important acts during this period of Mary's reign, when the persecutions of the Protestants were in course of preparation and execution. Whether they recognised the fact that these proceedings were, to a great extent, informal, or from motives of shame withheld the daily recapitulation of their acts, or whether the records were subsequently destroyed, cannot be ascertained, but it is certain that none, or very few, exist. The Registers are quite perfect before and after that time, but of the doings of the Council in these matters, for about two years—the most interesting and eventful portion of that reign —we look in vain for more than a few unimportant minutes.

† Edward Crome, Rector of St. Mary Aldermary, London. He appears to have been a preacher of considerable eminence, and had two or three times before been in trouble for alleged heresies, but always succeeded in escaping with some trifling punishment. On this occasion he must also have made some satisfactory concessions, for his life was spared, although it seems probable that he was kept in prison until the accession of Elizabeth. It is possible that he was the man whom Rogers immediately after mentions as "a citizen of London" who complied, &c. At all events, he forsook his faith, or his life would doubtless have been forfeited with those of the others. He probably resumed preaching, as he held his old Rectory when he died, about June 20th, 1562.—*Newcourt, &c.*

‡ No other reference to this man is anywhere to be found, and as he does not appear at any of the subsequent sessions, nor is his name recorded in any of the lists of the martyrs at that period, it is quite probable that he was the other person mentioned by Rogers as being discharged through the influence of one of the Council.

the Council*) to respond affirmatively to the non-committal question whether he would be an honest man as his father had been before him, was at once discharged; but that the remaining eight refused to receive the Cardinal's blessing, or to acknowledge the authority of the Pope, and were, with himself, taken back again to prison.

For the account of what occurred at the examination of Rogers on this occasion, we are indebted to himself, he having contrived to write and secrete the precious document in his cell, where it was subsequently discovered and secured by his wife and son. It may be that he had been able to indicate to them its existence, when he met them on the morning of his execution, but this seems hardly probable. The same spirit that impelled Bonner to refuse him an interview with his wife appears to have also actuated the agents of that Prelate, and, from the character that we have of the sheriff Woodroffe, he was not the man to allow, on that fatal morning, an opportunity for more than a parting salutation. From the evidence that exists, we have no right to presume that he was even suffered to indulge in the sad gratification of a last embrace with those so dear to him, although it is not impossible that such may have been the case, through the instrumentality of the other sheriff, Mr. Chester, who, according to all the testimony, was of a spirit totally

* Lord William Howard, or William, first Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral. He was the eldest son, by a second marriage, of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk. He had been in favour during the two preceding reigns, but was always a thorough Papist, although he is said to have shown more moderation during the persecutions than most of his fellows. Elizabeth continued him in her Privy Council, made him Lord High Chamberlain, and finally Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He died January 11th, 1573.—*Burnet; Strype; Lodge; Coopers, &c.*

different from that of his associate. But nothing was more natural than that the heart-broken widow should desire the mournful consolation of visiting the place where her beloved husband had been so long confined, or that, once within that cell, both she and her son should prosecute a careful search, in the hope that some little memento of him might have escaped the vigilance of his overseers. At all events, the MS. was thus discovered, and, subsequently, either the original or a copy of it fell into the hands of Foxe, who professedly embodied it in his history.

And now it becomes necessary to institute a most serious charge against Foxe, viz. that he did not publish this MS. in its integrity. The writer has been so fortunate as to discover the identical copy from which he compiled his account of Rogers, and which bears all the internal evidences of being a faithful transcript from the original. It will be found in a volume of Foxe's MSS., formerly in the possession of the historian Strype, and now in the Lansdowne collection at the British Museum.* It is mentioned in no index or catalogue, the entire volume only being generally named, and would be met with only by accident, unless, as was the case in the present instance, imbued with the conviction that this document existed somewhere among the numerous MSS. of Foxe preserved in various libraries, one should patiently and perseveringly search through those voluminous and heterogeneous collections. Even when this particular volume was reached, the pages of this MS. might easily be passed over and deemed portions of another, or, if actually discovered, unless most carefully and thoroughly

* Lansdowne MS. 389, fol. 190 *b*, to end of fol. 202. It occupies twenty-four closely written quarto pages.

examined from the beginning to the end, it would be pronounced the original of the version given by Foxe. From its position in this volume, and the character of the volume itself, there is not the slightest doubt that it is the identical copy used by Foxe. It is also evident, either that it has never been seen, or, if seen, that it has not been carefully examined by any of the editors of Foxe, from his time to the present; for, as would have been readily discovered, it thoroughly clears up a number of disputed points, as well as several alleged imperfections, which have, to this day, been left unexplained and unaltered. In one particular portion, where the reviser of an early edition marked a sentence as an imperfection in the original,—which statement has ever since been invariably repeated,—this MS. shows that the language of the Martyr was perfectly capable of comprehension, although perhaps a little indistinct, and that Foxe, in an evident attempt to render it more lucid, contrived to involve it in an unmeaning and inexplicable mystery, and thus left it, after thrusting the responsibility upon the author. There are also numerous passages, of more or less importance, entirely omitted by Foxe, often to the extent of several lines, and even whole paragraphs; and, on the other hand, Foxe makes Rogers say a great many things that do not appear in the MS. at all. In repeated instances, words and phrases have been omitted or introduced, either by Foxe or his revisers, by which the character and meaning of the various sentences have been completely reversed. The Martyr has been often made to write very ungrammatically, when his real language is perfectly correct. But the most serious discrepancy of all extends to several pages, where Foxe evidently attempted a sort of paraphrase of the ori-

ginal; for he retained a general idea of the substance, while construing and distorting the language unnecessarily and to no good purpose — often departing from or concealing the real points at issue, and otherwise rendering confused and indistinct that which, in the original, is perfectly plain and connected. Some of these omissions, additions, and alterations are of the greatest importance, as will be seen by a comparison of the two versions. Foxe seems, at length, to have grown weary of the self-imposed task, for he suddenly returned to the MS., and copied a large portion of it nearly literally, until he arrived at about its close, when he terminated it abruptly, omitting an entire paragraph of considerable interest. What were his motives for this wholesale mutilation of a paper which certainly displays better English and clearer logic than any of his own writings — prepared, though it was, hastily and by stealth, and under the greatest inconveniences — it is, perhaps, useless now to inquire. That his published version is an attempted improvement upon the original, and that the MS. now discovered is a faithful transcript from the Martyr's own draft, no one who will take the trouble to examine it will, for a moment, entertain the slightest doubt.

The writer takes great pleasure, therefore, in bringing this document to light, and in presenting it to his readers in the precise language in which Rogers wrote it; presuming, also, that it will add to their satisfaction generally that its original orthography and clerical arrangement have been retained. For purposes of convenient comparison, it has been deemed best to give also Foxe's version, from the oldest and most authentic editions, — that of 1563 being the basis, which has been carefully collated with the subsequent ones revised by

Foxe himself. A large number of original notes have been added, which, it is hoped, will satisfactorily elucidate every doubtful point, and answer all questions that may suggest themselves during its perusal. In the present portion of this work, it will be referred to only as it may serve to illustrate the account of the trial of the Martyr, and his personal history during the two weeks preceding his death.

On Tuesday, the 22nd of January, 1555, Rogers was brought, a prisoner, before the Privy Council. Gardiner seems to have abruptly intimated that he knew the object of the interview, and at once demanded if he was willing, then and there, to abandon his old faith, and acknowledge the Papal creed and authority. It will be noticed that the *Romish*, or the *Roman Catholic* Church, was never spoken of: it was, invariably, the *Catholic* Church. Rogers claimed to be still a member of *that* Church, as he understood it, and therefore replied to that effect, compelling Gardiner to express his meaning more definitely. He was then required, if he desired the favour of the authorities, to assent to the supremacy of the Pope. With true courage, he replied boldly that he recognised Christ as the only head of the Church, and declared his opinion that the *Bishop of Rome* — not the *Pope* — had no more or other authority in spiritual matters than any other of the numerous Bishops then living. Then Gardiner, hastily imagining that he had already ensnared him, inasmuch as, in his Dedication of the Bible to King Henry VIII., he had addressed him as "the chief and supreme head of the Church of England", taunted him with the fact; and when Rogers, who was fully prepared for this objection, would have explained his meaning and shown that he was guilty of

no inconsistency, the subject was turned into derision by the Bishops of Durham* and Worcester; and Gardiner, refusing to listen to him, demanded again, still more peremptorily, a direct answer to his original question. Determined not to be brow-beaten, Rogers urged that neither he or the other Bishops believed what they now required him to avow, for they had not only preached the contrary doctrine for twenty years, but some of them had written books against it. There was so much truth in this assertion that Gardiner did not attempt to controvert it; but, in seeking to escape the consequences of its admission by one outlet, he fell instantly into a still more serious pit-fall, and alleged that he and others had been compelled, by means of the cruelties used towards them, to appear to consent to what was really against their consciences. Rogers promptly retorted that they were now endeavouring to force him to do violence to his conscience in a similar manner. Again was the assertion too pointed, and Lord Paget sought to create a diversion; to whom Rogers appears to have paid no attention, probably indignant that a man, who had been one of the Councillors of the late King, should now be found actively persecut-

* Cuthbert Tunstall, then Bishop of Durham, formerly Bishop of London. Lloyd, in his State Worthies, says of him, that "he spake more harshly against the Protestants than he acted; being politickly presumed to bark the more that he might bite the less, and observed to threaten much in London and do little in his own Diocese." Even Foxe was obliged to admit that he was "no great persecutor." Camden says that he was "an able negotiator, and a most exquisite master of all critical learning"; and most writers concur in giving him an amiable character. He had been Elizabeth's god-father, and was upwards of eighty years of age at her accession; but he could not take the oath of supremacy, and she was finally obliged to suspend him. He was not, however, sent to prison, but committed to the nominal custody of Archbishop Parker, with whom he lived in great comfort at Lambeth, where he died November 18th, 1559.

ing the faith which he then, at least, nominally professed.* He continued his argument with the Lord Chancellor, who soon interrupted him again, and insisted upon a prompt reply to his first question. Finding that they were determined not to listen to him, he shortly responded in the negative, and asked permission to prove, in writing, the truth of all his propositions. This was instantly refused, and he was warned that, if he rejected the mercy then offered him, he should thereafter experience only justice. Declaring that, although he had never offended or disobeyed the Queen, he was yet willing to receive her mercy, he reminded them of the gross injustice that they were now manifesting; inasmuch as they, themselves, twenty years before, had first led him to doubt the pretended primacy of the Bishop of Rome, and now they would not even discuss the question with him. Gardiner, to escape this home-thrust, recklessly flew to another position, and declared that he was forbidden by the Scriptures to dispute with a heretic. "I deny that I am a heretic," said Rogers, quietly: "prove that first, and then allege your text." But this was also evaded, and his answer again demanded, to which

* William, first Lord Paget. He appears to have been a very able, but thoroughly unprincipled man, managing to continue in favour with no less than four different Governments. He was even one of Lady Jane Grey's Privy Council, but promptly sent in his adhesion to Mary, who treated him with marked respect. The probability is that he had always been a Papist, and one of the class that has been noticed in the Court of Edward VI., as its greatest curse. His rapid rise to political eminence must, however, be attributed to his remarkable abilities, though we may question the morality of the use he always made of them. Elizabeth would not trust him, in spite of them, although he solicited service under her. He lived privately, during the first few years of her reign, patronising men of letters, and died at West Drayton, Middlesex, June 9th, 1563, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.—*Coopers Athenæ Cantabrigienses, &c.*

Rogers only repeated that he must first find in the Scriptures the right of the Bishop of Rome to be called supreme head, before he would assent to it. Here the Bishop of Worcester taunted him with not understanding his Creed, inasmuch as that expressed belief in "the holy Catholic Church"; but Rogers replied that he could not find the Bishop of Rome there, and then gave him a definition of the word "Catholic," as used in that connection, which might well take its place even in modern dictionaries, viz. "the consent of all true teaching Churches of all times and of all ages" — of which the Romish Church certainly was not one, because it taught "many doctrines which are plainly and directly against the Word of God." Being called upon instantly to mention one, he selected the custom of conducting public service in a strange tongue; which led to a very spirited dispute, until, by their own admissions and his cogent arguments, he had driven them fairly into a logical corner, when they sought to escape the consequences by creating such a noise and confusion that he could no longer be heard, — from out of which the already thrice unfortunate Lord Chancellor only emerged, by absolutely disavowing the Scriptures as a credible witness in behalf of his premises. This, of course, led to further debate, followed by another tumult, ending by Gardiner's ordering him at once back to prison; upon which Rogers rose to his feet, having, as he says, been hitherto kneeling.

The rest of the conversation on this occasion appears to have been desultory and informal, in which all present joined indiscriminately. Sir Richard Southwell *

* Sir Richard Southwell had also been of the Privy Councils of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., bending his conscience to suit the requirements of the times. His apparent acquiescence in the movements of

sneeringly intimated that when he came to the burning — showing clearly that thus early had his ultimate fate been determined — he would not be so confident and fearless; to which Rogers meekly responded — lifting his eyes to Heaven — "Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust to my Lord God, yes." The Bishop of Ely, on the other hand, *very kindly* (which two expressive words were ungraciously omitted by Foxe) explained to him more of the Queen's sentiments and intentions; to whom Rogers, as cordially, again responded that, although he never had offended her, yet he would accept her mercy; and that he also besought her Grace and the Council to be good to him, and not do violence to his conscience. This Bishop seems to have been the only person present who treated him with any degree of respect or civility, and Rogers was careful to record the fact to his credit; but Foxe, very unnecessarily, and, as it would appear, unkindly and unjustly, erased the two words — which, restored, give an entirely new character to the sentence —thus causing that Prelate to go down to posterity as of the same class with his associates on that occasion, and obnoxious to the same reproach.* But even this inter-

the Reformation, during the reign of the latter, was probably mere pretence, as he subsequently became a leading and bitter persecutor. He was appointed Master General of the Ordnance in 1554, and was in great favour during Mary's reign. His subsequent history is unknown.

* Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely. The memory of this man deserves respect and veneration, alike from Protestant and Romanist. He had always been attached to the Romish Church, and never pretended to anything else, but was so honest and moderate that he commanded the esteem and admiration of all parties. Ralph Morice (Cranmer's secretary), in a letter to John Day, says that "Cranmer loved him more than any man living, and was even so fond of him that people thought he would have cut off his finger, or any other member, for him, if he wanted it." (*Harleian MS.* 416, fol. 183.) Compelled, from conscientious motives, to sit as one of Cranmer's judges on his trial, he wept sorely, and apologised for the necessity. He invariably treated the Protestants

change of common courtesy appears to have displeased the others, for, led on by Secretary Bourne *, they insolently urged that, as a priest, he could not have been married without violating the law. This was simply a gratuitous falsehood, and Rogers instantly refuted it, by declaring what they knew to be true, viz. that not only had he married in a country where it was lawful to do so, but that he did not return to England until the laws of that realm recognised and justified the marriage of priests. He might also have added, that not only were these marriages generally legalised, but, in his own case, a special Act of Parliament had been passed, making his wife and children denizens, and involving their legal recognition in those relations. Instead, however, of acknowledging their falsehood, they began to sneer at and deride him, and the prison official who had him in charge seized him by the arm to lead him away. As he was leaving the room, he declared that the true Catholic Church denied matrimony to no man, whether priest or layman; upon which, the Bishop of Worcester † — a zealous Papist, but otherwise an

with great mildness, and must be distinctly separated from the rest of his class. He refused, of course, to acknowledge Elizabeth, and was deprived of all his preferments, but continued to live in great comfort at Lambeth, where he finally died August 26th, 1570, and was buried in the parish church. His body was discovered, only partially decayed, in 1783. — *Blomefield's Norfolk; Coopers' Athenæ Cantabrigienses, &c.* See also Note in the Appendix, p. 303, concerning Foxe's mutilation of this passage.

* Sir John Bourne, one of Mary's principal Secretaries. Little is known of him except that he was a most bigoted Papist, and very zealous and energetic in the persecutions of the Protestants. He died May 13th, 1575, leaving large estates in Worcestershire.—*Lodge's Illustrations; Strype, &c.*

† Rogers thus designates Nicholas Heath, of whose promotion to the Archbishopric of York he was probably ignorant. This is proved by the last paragraph of his posthumous writings, which Foxe very unne-

amiable man — told him that he did not know where that Church was. Rogers, like a true disputant, insisting upon having the last word, commenced a reply, but the officer closed the door abruptly and led him away.

The foregoing is a fair synopsis of Rogers' account of this memorable interview, and we must accept his narration by itself, for there is no other to corroborate or disprove it. It bears evidences of correctness, and shows conclusively that the whole proceeding was a farce, under the guise of a solemn official ceremony. From first to last, it was characterised by unfairness, injustice, and even falsehood. Not an assertion was made that he did not instantly deny and disprove; not a truth did he utter that was not received with jeering and insult. The Council met under a foregone determination — sufficiently indicated by the accidental expression of Secretary Bourne before mentioned — and merely transacted certain formalities, in order that their next proceedings might be made to appear based upon some new and positive offence that he had then and there committed. That offence was to consist in his refusal to acknowledge the Pope as the supreme head of the Church, which was now, indeed, a legalised

cessarily omitted, and which has led some to confound him with Richard Pates, who was now nominally Bishop of Worcester. All writers agree in giving very flattering accounts of both his moral and intellectual character. He was, of course, a thorough Papist, and, we must believe, acted conscientiously on this and similar occasions. After Gardiner's death, he succeeded him as Lord Chancellor, which office he held until deprived by Elizabeth. He was imprisoned two or three months in the Tower, but was finally allowed to retire to his own property at Chobham, in Surrey, where he passed the remainder of his days as a prisoner at large, and where he died in 1579.—*Lord Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors; Lloyd's State Worthies; Camden's Elizabeth.* See also Note in the Appendix, p. 336.

crime, but, to be actually guilty of which, he should have been, at the time of its committal, a free man. These niceties of right and wrong were, however, of little consequence to them. The doomed victims were in their power, and no appeal to such considerations could now affect their pre-determined fate.

Rogers returned to his cell in Newgate, confident, we may suppose, that what he had experienced was but the prelude to other speedy and more decisive proceedings. When he wrote his narrative of this day's incidents is not known, but it was not finished until the night of the next Sunday, as he affixed to it the date of "the 27th of January, at night." Very probably, having secreted a little paper and some instrument for writing, the only opportunities that he could steal from his jealous watchers were when he was supposed to be at rest, and then, by the sickly rays of the moonlight that penetrated into his gloomy abode, he penned these last messages to his friends and the world that he was so soon to leave. On that night, he added a few earnest words to what he may have previously written, stating that he had just been informed that he was to appear the next morning before some tribunal; and his appeal for the prayers of all true Christians would seem to indicate that he hoped to be able to deliver his communication into some friendly hands on the following day. He did not forget that he was a husband and father, and, in the most touching language, commended his "poor wife," and all his and her "little souls," to the sympathy and protection of those, in defence of whose common faith he was about to render up his own life. We may but faintly realise his emotions as he retired that night to his prison couch.

In the meantime, Gardiner, through his instruments,

had not been idle, but every means had been resorted to that the people might be somewhat prepared for the extreme measures that had been resolved upon. On Friday, the 25th of January, there had been, at least, the semblance of a general rejoicing. An immense procession had passed through the streets of London, headed by Bonner with eight other Bishops, and no less than one hundred and sixty priests — probably to represent the same number who, at the late session of Parliament, had acknowledged the Pope's supremacy — all dressed in full canonicals. The Lord Mayor and other city officials increased the force and character of the imposing cortége, while the Cardinal, and even King Philip, were present during some part of the ceremonies — thus commending them and their object to the populace, whose passions, if not their judgment, the shrewd Lord Chancellor well knew would be more or less influenced to succumb to his purposes, by the pomp and excitement of the hour. The whole day was passed alternately in solemn and gayer festivities, the night was enlivened by numerous bonfires and other illuminations, and all London — save only the poor prisoners and their friends, and other trembling Protestants who knew not how soon they might be in the like condition — retired finally to rest, believing, or trying to believe, that the new reign was the best that the realm had ever known, and probably thinking little and caring less for the sufferers in their midst, for whom, a few days hence, other festivities were to be prepared, and other fires lighted.

CHAPTER VI.

TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION.

Indecent Haste of the Papists. — Cardinal Pole's Commission. — Rogers' Arraignment before Gardiner and other Bishops. — Not a fair Trial, but an *ex parte* Proceeding. — His Firmness and logical Ability. — His bitter Retorts. — Gardiner loses his Temper. — And his Reason. — And virtually denies the Queen's Right to the Throne. — Rogers' Loyalty. — His Opinion of Mary. — Gardiner's repeated Blunders. — His false Accusations repelled by Rogers. — Remand to next Day. — Interesting Interview with Hooper. — A Night in the Southwark Compter. — Brought up for Sentence. — Insists on his Right to be heard. — His Claim denied. — His sarcastic Address to the Tribunal. — Defends his Position and avows his Faith. — Gardiner pronounces the Sentence of Condemnation. — The Great Curse. — Rogers delivered to the secular Power. — His noble Defiance. — Craves Permission to see his Wife. — Is denied. — Administers a terrible Rebuke to the Bishops, and states a revolting Fact concerning the Romish Priesthood. — Official Record of the Trial.

Of the state of things and the condition of public sentiment described in the last chapter, Gardiner took instant advantage. No time was to elapse that a reaction might take place: the final blow was to be struck firmly, and at once. On the following Monday, the 28th of January, Cardinal Pole, as Lord Legate of England — the direct representative of the Pope*—

* Reignold (in the old records) or Reginald Pole. He was of royal blood, his mother being a niece of Edward IV. His sins appear to have been the natural consequences of his position, rather than the results of a bad character or evil disposition. He was a learned and pious man, and so well-disposed towards the Protestants, that Mary, who would have preferred him as her Lord Chancellor, after Gardiner's death, was

issued, in general terms, his Commission for judicial proceedings against all persons who might be obnoxious to the new laws against heresy. It was dated on that day, but had evidently been perfected before, and the preliminary steps taken under it; as we have seen that Rogers was aware, on the preceding evening, that he was to appear before his judges on the next morning. This Commission was addressed to Gardiner and a number of the other Bishops, some of whom, there is reason to believe, would have gladly escaped the fearful responsibility involved, but did not dare to resist the mandate of the Pope's representative. That every thing was in readiness for immediate action under it, is proved by the fact that the tribunal thus constituted assembled the same day, at the church of St. Mary Overy*, and early enough to admit of the examination of three of the accused parties, viz. Rogers, Hooper, and Cardmaker. Gardiner presided, as chief of the Commission, for two of these men were the objects of his especial hatred, and he could not suffer such an admirable opportunity to wreak upon them his personal vengeance to escape him; while he had reason, as it appears, to believe that the third would be induced then and there to recant — a consummation for which

compelled to forego her own inclination, from the opposition of her advisers. He does not seem to have been so ambitious as some historians represent him, as he is said to have declined the Popedom. There appears to have been a great affection between him and the Queen, whom he survived only two days, dying November 19th, 1558.—*Hayward's Elizabeth; Lord Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors; Diary of Henry Machyn, &c.*

* St. Mary Overy, or St. Mary Overies — now St. Saviour's. In the MS., it is written "St. Mary over-the-way." Very little of the old building now remains. The trials are supposed to have taken place in what is known as the Lady Chapel. This church was probably selected simply on account of its convenience, being in close proximity to the palace of the Bishop of Winchester.

he desired to take some credit to himself. His associates, all of whom appear to have been present, were the Bishops of London, Worcester, Ely, Bath and Wells, Gloucester*, Bristol†, Durham, Carlisle‡, Lincoln§, St. David's‖, Norwich¶, and Coventry and

* James Brooks, who succeeded Hooper as Bishop of Gloucester. He had been Gardiner's chaplain and almoner, and seems to have been a learned and eloquent man, but a zealous Papist. He was deprived and committed to prison early in Elizabeth's reign, and died in February, 1560, being buried in Gloucester Cathedral, but without any monument.

† John Holyman, who succeeded to the See of Bristol in 1554. Little is known of him except from Wood, who characterises him as "a most zealous Catholic," and "a most stout champion of his time, in his preachings and writings against Lutherans." He died in 1558 or 1559.—*Athenæ Oxonienses.*

‡ Robert Aldrich, of whom it is enough to say that he was always a thorough Papist, but sufficiently flexible to retain his Bishopric, from his first appointment in 1537, through the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and to be still in high favour with Mary's Government. He survived his present victim only about four weeks, dying on the 5th of March, 1555.—*Aikin; Wood; Coopers, &c.*

§ John White, created Bishop of Lincoln in 1554, and Bishop of Winchester in 1557, succeeding Gardiner in the latter See. He has the reputation of having possessed an unfortunate temper and disposition, and of having been one of the most zealous among the persecutors. He preached Mary's funeral sermon, by Elizabeth's order, but, in the course of it, reflected so severely upon the latter, that, for this and other offences, he was imprisoned. He died January 12th, 1560, and was buried at Winchester.—*Burnet; Strype, &c.*

‖ Henry Morgan, who succeeded Ferrar early in 1554. He excited the intense hatred of the people, by becoming first the accuser and then the judge of his predecessor. He was also noted for his cruelties to other Protestants. He was deprived by Elizabeth, and did not long survive, dying December 23rd, 1559, "a devoted son of the Church of Rome."—*Burnet; Wood, &c.*

¶ John Hopton. He had been Mary's chaplain and Comptroller of her Household, and was consecrated Bishop of Norwich October 25th, 1554. Originally a Dominican Black Friar, he was, without doubt, after Bonner, the most cruel and relentless persecutor of his times. Some of the stories told of his severities in his own Diocese would be beyond belief, if they were not well authenticated. After the death of Mary, he lived a short time, the prey of grief and fear, hourly expecting to be

Lichfield*,—Bonner, his chief and conscienceless instrument, occupying, as might be expected, the post of honour at his right hand. The other officials of the Commission were three public notaries, or secretaries, named Anthony Hussey†, Robert Johnson‡, and William Say.§

Besides the above, the following persons are known to have been present on this occasion, viz. the Duke of Norfolk‖; the Lords Montague and Wharton¶; Sir

called to an account for his previous cruelties, and died late in 1558, or early in 1559. His very memory is odious.—*Blomefield's Norfolk; Newcourt; Coopers, &c.*

* Ralph Baynes, one of the Bishops made by Mary in 1554—a thorough Papist, and one of the most violent of the persecutors. Like many of his fellow Bishops, he did not long survive his deprivation under Elizabeth, dying November 18th, 1559.—*Strype; Coopers, &c.*

† Anthony Hussey, who had been Cranmer's principal Registrar, and also a Master in Chancery. While acting in the former capacity, he was detected in a conspiracy against his master. He subsequently became governor of the Muscovy merchants, and died, at an advanced age, June 1st, 1560, having a grand burial at St. Martin's, Ludgate.—*Strype: Diary of Henry Machyn, &c.*

‡ Robert Johnson. He had been Proctor in the Court of Arches, and finally Bonner's principal Registrar of the Diocese of London. He died November 20th, 1558, and had honourable burial in St. Paul's.—*Strype: Coopers, &c.*

§ William Say was also a Proctor of the Arches, and frequently acted as public notary at the trials of the Protestants. He had also been an actuary at Gardiner's trial, a few years before. His subsequent history is unknown.

‖ If this reference is correct, it must have been Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded June 2nd, 1572, and who succeeded his grandfather, the third Duke, at his death, August 25th, 1554. He was, at this time, only about nineteen years old. His history and fate are well known. He was beloved by the people, but lost his life on account of his unfortunate entanglement with Mary, Queen of Scots; or, as Lloyd says, he was "beheaded for indiscretions rather than treasons—losing his head because he wanted one."

¶ Thomas, first Lord Wharton, by creation in 1st Edward VI. He devoted himself entirely to the profession of arms, and is chiefly known as having become an eminent military commander. He was of Mary's

Richard Southwell, Sir Francis Inglefield *, Sir Robert Rochester, Sir Thomas Wharton †, Sir John Huddleston ‡, Sir John Tregonwell §, Sir Philip Draycot ‖, Sir Henry Jerningham ¶, Sir Clement

Privy Council, and, when in his seat in Parliament, voted steadily against all measures favouring the Reformation. He died August 23rd, 1568.—*Lodge's Illustrations; Norfolk Archæology, &c.*

* Sir Francis Inglefield, Englefield, or Yngelfeld, as the name respectively appears in the records of his time. He had been one of Mary's chief officers, while Princess, and was sent to the Tower, by Edward VI., for refusing to interfere in the matter of her religious household worship. When she came to the throne, she made him Master of the Wards and Liveries. He was deposed by Elizabeth, and subsequently outlawed, convicted of high treason, and attainted, after which he appears to have become a pensioned spy of the Spanish Government. Strype says that he was executed in London, in 1587, but other authorities assert that he died at Valladolid, in 1592, "worn out with age and persecution."—*Manning's Lives of the Speakers, &c.*

† Sir Thomas, son of Thomas, first Lord Wharton. He was one of Mary's chief officers in the Marches between England and Scotland, and also of her Council. The death of his wife is recorded as occurring June 7th, 1561, when he appears to have been still living. At the death of his extraordinary descendant, Philip, Duke of Wharton, in 1731, the line became extinct.—*Strype; Lodge; Diary of Henry Machyn.*

‡ Sir John Huddleston, Hodelston, Hodylston, or Hurlestone. He was knighted at Mary's coronation, and became one of her Council, and finally King Philip's Vice Chamberlain. Little is known of his history. He died November 4th, 1557.—*Diary of Henry Machyn; Norfolk Archæology.*

§ John Tregonwell, LL.D., was Master in Chancery during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., and also through that of Edward VI. He was knighted at Mary's coronation. He appears on various Commissions, but few particulars of his history are preserved.—*Foss's Judges of England; Diary of Henry Machyn; Strype, &c.*

‖ Sir Philip Draycot was in Mary's second Parliament, April, 1554, but no other reference is found concerning him.

¶ This person is variously designated as Jerningham, Jernegan, and Gernyngham, and also as Sir Henry, Sir Thomas, and Sir Francis, so that it is difficult to determine which is correct. He appears to have been, in Mary's reign, successively Captain of the Guard, Vice Chamberlain, and Master of the Horse, and also of the Council. He was one of the first gentlemen who declared for Queen Mary, and was much esteemed

Heigham*, and Sir Richard Dobbs †; William Cooke ‡, Thomas Martin §, Nicholas Harpesfield ||, David

by her, being rewarded not only with valuable offices, but also with rich grants of lands. He died September 7th, 1572.—*Lodge's Illustrations; Norfolk Archæology; Diary of Henry Machyn, &c.*

* Sir Clement Heigham was bred to the profession of law, and was several times in Parliament. He is chiefly known as having been Speaker of the House of Commons during Mary's third Parliament, when the laws against the Protestants were revived, soon after the dissolution of which he was knighted. He subsequently became Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and even received a new patent as such from Queen Elizabeth, but resigned, or was removed, early in 1559. He spent the rest of his life at Barrow Hall, in Suffolk, much beloved and respected, and died there March 9th, 1570.—*Foss's Judges of England.*

† Sir Richard Dobbs had been Lord Mayor of London, in 1551, when he was knighted, but was now simply an Alderman. He was the first President of Christ's Hospital, which was founded during his Mayoralty. He has been highly commended by all writers. He died May 13th, 1556.—*Burnet; Strype; Stow, &c.*

‡ William Cooke, LL.D. Strype erroneously says Coke, and calls him a knight. He held the offices of Master in Chancery, Judge of the Admiralty, and Dean of the Arches. He was also of Edward's Council, and one of the judges of Joan of Kent. He appears to have been conspicuous and zealous among the persecutors, his name being found attached to the most important Commissions. He died August 25th, 1558.—*Foss's Judges of England; Newcourt; Strype; Burnet, &c.*

§ Strype says Sir Thomas Martin, but there is no evidence that he was ever knighted. He was a Doctor of Laws, and a controversial writer of some notoriety. Bale and other Protestant writers give a sad account of his morals, but perhaps the worst that can properly be said is, that he was a parasite of Gardiner, and manifested extreme zeal against the Protestants, particularly against Cranmer, whose favour he had formerly courted. He became Gardiner's Chancellor, and went hand in hand with Bonner in the persecutions. He was living as late as November 14th, 1559, but probably died about that time.—*Wood; Strype; Coopers, &c.*

|| Nicholas Harpesfield was a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Archdeacon of Canterbury, holding also several minor preferments. He was an eminent theologian, and an excellent general scholar, and does not seem to have been very active in the persecutions. He was deprived of all his preferments by Elizabeth, and remained a prisoner at large, in London, for more than twenty years, engaged in authorship. He died in 1583.—*Newcourt.*

Pole*, and Hugh Curwin †, Doctors of the Laws; John Seton ‡ and Thomas Watson §, Professors of Divinity; Henry Jolliff ‖ and Philip Morgan ¶, Bache-

* David Pole, Archdeacon of Salop and Derby, and Chancellor of Lichfield and Coventry. In 1556, he became Vicar-general to Cardinal Pole (as Archbishop of Canterbury), and, in 1557, Bishop of Peterborough. He refused to acknowledge Elizabeth's supremacy, and was deprived, but had not rendered himself very obnoxious, and was permitted to live quietly in the vicinity of London. He died about May or June, 1568.—*Newcourt; Burnet; Strype.*

† Hugh Curwin (originally Coren). His character will not bear the strictest investigation. He had been one of the chaplains of Henry VIII., and held various preferments during his reign and that of Edward VI., complying regularly with all the various requirements. He became Archbishop of Dublin in September, 1555, and was also Lord Chancellor of Ireland. In 1567, Archbishop Parker made him Bishop of Oxford, which is considered an unjustifiable procedure on the part of that Prelate, as Curwin, as well from his past character and history as his age and infirmities, was totally unfitted for that position. He died in October, 1568.—*Wood; Strype; Coopers, &c.*

‡ John Seton. He was really D.D., although he appears to have called himself, on one occasion, only B.D. He was one of Gardiner's chaplains, and much esteemed by him: therefore his character and practices may be readily imagined. He was, at this time, a Canon of Winchester, and Prebendary of York. He was deprived by Elizabeth, and ended his days abroad, but the time and place of his death are unknown.—*Coopers' Athenæ Cantabrigienses.*

§ Thomas Watson was another of Gardiner's chaplains, and a man after his own heart. After receiving various preferments, he was made Bishop of Lincoln in 1557. (Mr. Anderson erroneously says that he held that office at this time.) He was deprived by Elizabeth, and remained for some time a prisoner at large, but, being detected in correspondence with certain Papal emissaries, he was committed to Wisbeach Castle, where he died in September, 1584.

‖ Henry Jolliff had been a Canon of Worcester under Bishop Hooper, with whom he had a serious controversy, which may account for his presence on this occasion. He had recently been made Dean of Bristol. From some cause, he fled abroad on the accession of Elizabeth, and died early in January, 1574.

¶ Philip Morgan, or Morgan Philips, which was, it appears, his real name. He was educated at Oxford, and, in 1546, became Principal of St. Mary's Hall, which office he resigned in 1550. Early in Mary's reign, he was made Precentor of St. David's Cathedral. He also fled abroad, on Mary's accession, and resided chiefly at Louvain and Douay, employing

lors of Divinity; and Thomas Hungate *, Francis Allen †, William Smyth ‡, and John Vaughan §, Esquires. ‖ Probably the most, if not all, of the above were merely spectators, attracted by the novelty and importance of the occasion, but, in more than one instance, they appear to have taken part in the proceedings, although not recognised officially as members of the tribunal. ¶ Hooper was first arraigned, then Cardmaker, and lastly Rogers, whose examination, he informs us, took place in the afternoon. As in the former instance, his own account of it will be closely followed.

Gardiner resumed, or rather proposed anew, as he was now acting judicially, the question which he had propounded a week before, and required Rogers to state

his time in writing, and died at the latter place, early in 1577.—*Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.*

* Nothing more is known of Hungate, and he was, probably, one of the class referred to by Rogers as Gardiner's "servants and adherents."

† Francis Allen had been Gardiner's secretary for some years. He is also spoken of elsewhere as one of the clerks of the Council. Nothing more appears to be known of him.

‡ Nothing more is known of Smyth. See note respecting Thomas Hungate above.

§ John Vaughan, LL.D., is mentioned in a subsequent Commission for severer proceedings against the heretics. Possibly he was the one of that name who was Dean of Queen's College, Cambridge, 1507-9, and who was subsequently presented to the Rectory of Rettenden, Essex, by Henry VIII., in 1541. If so, he died about April, 1557. — *Coopers' Athenæ Cantabrigienses.*

‖ These names were first published by Strype, who obtained them from one of the Foxe MSS. in his possession (now Harleian, 421, fol. 36-9), being a copy of the official record in the case of Hooper. In that concerning Rogers, in the same volume (see copy in the Appendix), they are referred to as all being present also at his trial.

¶ They are mentioned, however, in the MS. last referred to, in the capacity of witnesses, and were, perhaps, delegated by the Council to be present, in order to give the countenance of the civil authorities to the acts of the religious tribunal.

whether he would return to the Romish Church. There was no prevarication in his reply, but he promptly and distinctly, and, as he says, utterly refused to receive the mercy offered by that anti-Christian Church, because, in order to qualify himself for it, he must yield his assent to error and false doctrine; but he still declared his willingness and ability to prove that he had never taught any but true and Catholic doctrines, and promised to appeal only to the Scriptures and the authority of the Fathers of the primitive Church. This proposition was, of course, again rejected, the Lord Chancellor assuming a new ground, viz. that, the Parliament having enacted certain laws, under which they were now acting, and which recognised the refusal that he had just uttered as an offence sufficiently criminal to incur their penalties, it was impossible that a single individual, and he already convicted by his own confession or voluntary declaration, should be suffered to call those laws in question. Strictly speaking, this was legally and logically correct; but Rogers, who was, doubtless, a better theologian than jurist, as well as a thorough disputant, persisted in his desire to argue this position, but solely on scriptural authorities — the very ones that Gardiner would not recognise. He cared little to be reminded that all human laws ought to be framed in obedience to the higher and holier principles of Divine justice and equity, when he evidently regarded neither as of any value, except so far as they might be used to accomplish his own evil purposes. He would listen to no suggestions of this nature, but replied to them by a violent personal attack upon his victim, charging him with ignorance, pride, arrogance, and vain glory, in even presuming to question the acts of the late Parliament. Rogers was but human,

and could not forbear a bitter retort, although prefacing it by a meek confession of his own ignorance, and a humble avowal of his sole reliance upon the Almighty for strength and assistance to maintain the declarations that he had made. He then asserted that he was not so utterly ignorant as his Lordship represented him, and that, as for his other charges, all the world well knew to whom the terms "proud, arrogant, and vain glorious" were most properly applicable. Gardiner evaded the personal allusion, and charged him with including the Queen, as well as the whole realm, in his condemnation of the Parliament as anti-Christian. Rogers replied, respectfully and reverently as to her Majesty, but most severely in reference to his interlocutor, that the Queen would have done well enough, if she had been free from the influence of his counsel. Like a true descendant of Adam, and like a coward and a traitor,—for, if false, it was cowardly to cast the blame upon a woman; and, if true, he violated what he should have protected as a State secret,—the Lord Chancellor so far demeaned himself as to declare that the Queen was the prime mover in the transactions of the day, and that he merely obeyed her directions. What a contrast appeared in the loyal and earnest response of the poor, powerless, friendless man, then being hunted to his death! What a dignified and majestic rebuke in his simple but fervent ejaculation—"I never can and never will believe it"! This honest and heartfelt expression of confidence in his sovereign, uttered at such a time and under such circumstances, ought, at least, to have saved his life. It was the most magnificent compliment, whether merited or not, that Mary ever received, and she should have treasured it as of priceless value. It is not impro-

bable that, at this moment, and on account of these words, the tide of favour turned towards Rogers, for it was deemed necessary that some one should come to the relief of the unfortunate Lord Chancellor, who had so sadly committed himself; and, when the Bishop of Carlisle, speaking for himself and his associates, confirmed the assertion, and Rogers pithily replied that he could well believe that, the audience indulged in open merriment. The diversion was evidently becoming too serious, and it was necessary that the presiding officer should be sustained, whether right or wrong; so the Queen's Comptroller — Sir Robert Rochester *, and one of her principal secretaries — Sir John Bourne, in defiance of the rules and etiquette of all judicial tribunals, came also to his aid, and publicly corroborated his statement. Whether they declared a solemn truth, or morally perjured themselves for the sake of expediency, cannot now be known; but all present must have realised that a frightful error had been palliated, although not redeemed, in a most pitiful manner. Rogers was probably satisfied with the effect already produced, and simply waived any further consideration of the matter at that time, although he afterwards recorded his belief that they were equally guilty with Gardiner, in forcing the Queen's formal consent to their measures; and, at the same time, virtually intimating, even after his condemnation, that he retained his for-

* Sir Robert Rochester (erroneously called Christopher in the MS. last quoted). He had also been one of Mary's officers, when Princess, and had suffered imprisonment on account of his faithfulness to her, for which he was abundantly rewarded on her accession to the throne, receiving the Order of the Garter, the Comptrollership, and a seat in her Privy Council, as well as the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster. He appears to have been intensely devoted to her and her religion. He died November 28th, 1557.—*Lodge's Illustrations: Strype, &c.*

mer opinion concerning the Lord Chancellor. It thus appears that Rogers, up to his death, regarded the Queen much more favourably than it has been the custom to do since, or, at least, as less guilty than her advisers; and it would seem that his opinion, formed and expressed in those times, and he being one and the very first of the sufferers, should be entitled to more than ordinary consideration.

Glad to escape, in any manner, from the predicament into which he had fallen, and covering his retreat with a profusion of words, Gardiner next plunged into his favourite subject—the reality of the Sacrament. Rising, and removing his cap, in which formalities he was imitated by his fellow Bishops, he desired to know whether Rogers believed that the bread and wine used at the ceremony of the Lord's Supper were, really and substantially, the body and blood of Christ? In his reply to this question, if any where, will be found anything approaching to prevarication; and yet, even here that does not appear to have been his intention—his design seeming rather to have been to define clearly his actual position. He commenced by reminding Gardiner that he was well aware, as he himself had often told him, that this was a subject with which he had not hitherto meddled,—meaning, probably, that it was one upon which his mind had not been fully established, or else that he had been rather inclined to retain his old opinions concerning it; certainly, that he had not gone to the extreme opposite of repudiating the doctrine, as his brethren generally had done, and that, in consequence thereof, he had even been subjected to their suspicions. It forms a point in his history that must not be overlooked, and it is to his credit that he did not hesitate to avow his unsettled

convictions on this subject. The probability is that he did not regard the belief or disbelief in the real presence as, practically, of vital importance, and thought, therefore, that the question was not worth quarrelling about. But if they imagined, from his prelude, that he was about to make any further concessions, they were soon undeceived; for, intimating that he was familiar enough with the nature and laws of matter to understand that a single body could not be, at the same time, in two separate places, he declared that, as he was convinced that all their other doctrines were false, and could be defended only by force and cruelty, he had no longer any doubt that this was as false as the rest; and they might, therefore, add that to his former admissions.

This was, certainly, sufficiently plain language; and now, fully aware that his doom was sealed, he, in turn, became the attacking party, and boldly charged Gardiner with having dealt most cruelly with him: first, by keeping him a prisoner for a year and a half, without and against law; and secondly, by depriving him, also illegally, of the avails from his several preferments, well knowing that he had no other resources, and that he had a large family dependent upon him. Evidently confused by this sudden and unexpected attack, the unfortunate Lord Chancellor made another most extraordinary declaration, and one of infinitely more consequence than any of his former ones. Instead of attempting to shield himself under the allegation that he had acted, at least, under the colour of the Queen's or the Council's authority, which he might have done with some degree of reason, he hastily declared that Bishop Ridley, under whose administration Rogers had received those preferments,

was an usurper, and therefore he had held them unlawfully. Rogers instantly demanded whether the King, who had made Ridley a Bishop, was also an usurper, and Gardiner, before he could have seen the force and effect of his reply, answered in the affirmative, and began to complain bitterly of the personal treatment that both Bonner and himself had received from him. The consequence of this was that he virtually denied the rightful supremacy of Queen Mary herself, — whose only claim to the succession lay in the fact that she was Edward's sister, — and this was little, if at all, less than treason. He did, indeed, attempt to retract his words, as soon as his distracted mind recovered its balance, but, as Rogers says, "the word had gone out of the abundance of the heart before." He adds that he did not think he was very sorry for it; an evident intimation that his honesty and loyalty towards the Queen were to be questioned, or, at least, were secondary to his own personal interests and those of his Church. The probability is, however, that he said more than he really meant; the mere sound of the names of Edward VI. and Ridley, both of whom he had detested, suddenly arousing his indignation, and momentarily disturbing his equilibrium. Rogers had the good sense to leave the subject just at that point, and asked him why he had been imprisoned. The reply was, because he had preached against the Queen. This, Rogers promptly and positively denied, and, aware that he referred particularly to his sermon at Paul's Cross, on the Sunday after the Queen came to the Tower, appealed to the entire audience then present, as witnesses to sustain his denial. Conscious that he could not maintain this position, Gardiner flew to another, and alleged that he had read his lectures in

the Cathedral, after he had been forbidden to do so; but Rogers disputed this even more positively, and offered his life in defence of his assertion. Gardiner was silent, for he well knew that he had uttered a falsehood. Rogers then exposed his duplicity, and the injustice with which he had been treated, alleging that the laws of both God and man had been violated in his person, and that they had, in the most arbitrary and illegal manner, kept him in confinement until they had succeeded in reviving certain obsolete enactments, under which they were now seeking his life. Here he appears to have been again silenced, and he records what he would have said if he had been permitted; referring, in feeling and by no means unkind terms, to the defection of his fellow-prisoner Cardmaker*, — a passage in his MS. which Foxe chose to omit.

It was now about four o'clock in the afternoon, when Gardiner closed the farce, by declaring that he must extend to him "the charity of the Church,"—a charity which Rogers characterised as similar to that of foxes and wolves towards chickens and lambs,—and gave

* John Cardmaker (*alias* Taylor) had been Vicar of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, and was now Prebendary of Wells. It seems impossible to doubt that he did, on this day, make a complete submission and a promise to recant, if not an absolute recantation. He afterwards, in a letter to a friend, declared that he merely temporised with the Bishops, in order to secure a little delay for a particular purpose, which, and the motive for which, should shortly appear, and be satisfactory to his friends; but it is certain that they never did appear. On the other hand, he had been for many years a consistent, zealous, and remarkably bold Protestant, and, when he finally came to the stake, not one among the martyrs behaved more admirably. It has been presumed that, through the influence of Laurence Saunders, one of his fellow prisoners, he was led to alter his determination, for he was again arraigned on the 25th, and burnt on the 30th, of the following May. The copy of the judicial process, preserved by Foxe, shows an actual and complete submission on this occasion, and such Rogers evidently regarded it.

him until the next day to return to her catholic bosom and receive her mercy. The language, or perhaps the tone and manner in which it was uttered, seems to have aroused the spirit of Rogers, for he replied, with some appearance of indignation, that he had never been out of the true Catholic Church, and never would be, but that into his Church he would (by God's grace) never come; and when Gardiner asked if the Romish Church was, then, false and anti-Christian, he shortly responded—"Yes!" "And what is our doctrine of the Sacrament?" persisted the Lord Chancellor. "False!" ejaculated Rogers, and in his earnestness used some gesture which one of the bystanders, in an abortive attempt at wit, designated as that of a player,—an insult which he treated with the contempt it deserved. Gardiner ordered his appearance again between ten and eleven o'clock the next morning, and, Rogers, having declared himself to be at his disposal whenever he desired his presence, was, with Hooper only (as it appears), taken for the night to the Southwark Compter, such a multitude of people attending them that they had much difficulty in passing through the streets.

According to the accounts in the later editions of the Acts and Monuments, it was at this point that occurred the brief but expressive colloquy between Hooper and Rogers, which has since been so often related. Hooper, having passed first into the street (each being in the custody of particular officials), tarried a moment for his companion in suffering, and, when Rogers made his appearance, he said to him—"Come, brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots?" "Yes, sir," replied Rogers, "by God's grace." "Doubt not—" returned Hooper—"but God will give us strength."

If this account is not apocryphal (and there is no good reason to doubt its correctness, especially as it was not recorded by Foxe himself), it forms a trifling but interesting incident in the history of these two men. The interview was but momentary—just long enough for a personal recognition, and the utterance of a solemn pledge, each to the other, that they, at least—thus implying a reference to the sad defection of the weaker Cardmaker—would continue true to themselves and to the faith which they professed; and also for an ejaculatory appeal to the Almighty for the strength upon which they must alone depend.

About nine o'clock on the morning of the next day, Tuesday, the 29th of February, Rogers and Hooper were again brought from the Compter to the church. They there appear to have been separated, and Hooper was first arraigned and condemned. This day the crowd was not admitted, and none were suffered to come in, as Rogers informs us, except those known to be Gardiner's servants or adherents. It was, indeed, important that the sad exhibitions which that Bishop had made of himself the day before should not be renewed in the presence of an indiscriminate assemblage, and it was, probably, also deemed advisable that none of the Protestant sympathisers should be allowed to be present, lest they might carry away and report publicly the sarcastic but truthful language of the bold rebel with whom they were dealing. In addition to the Prelates and other dignitaries already named, the Bishop of Chichester* appears to have acted officially during the remainder of the trial.

* George Day. He had formerly been Bishop of Chichester, and was at one time somewhat inclined to the Reformation, but grew more Papistical, and was deprived by Edward VI. He was restored to the See by Mary, and,

It had been determined to dispose hastily of the respective prisoners at this day's session, and Rogers was instantly asked whether he had decided to recant and receive the mercy offered him. Declining to answer at once the peremptory interrogatory, he began again to insist upon his right to discuss the various questions involved in the proceedings against him, sustaining his positions by references to certain high ecclesiastical authorities—particularly St. Augustine and the celebrated Sicilian canonist Panormitanus, either of whose opinions would, on any other occasion, have been received as conclusive. He was not suffered, however, to proceed very far in his argument, being interrupted, as he says, by Sir Anthony Browne* (who had been recently raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Montague—a fact of which Rogers was evidently not aware); but he succeeded in sarcastically telling his judges that, if Henry VIII. were restored to life, and should call a new Parliament to re-enact the old laws, they would, even then, be found to be his most obsequious servants and flatterers, regardless of the zeal which they now displayed concerning the new

as he preached at her coronation as well as at the funeral of Edward, he must have been regarded as one of the leading men of his Church. It is certain that he took part in the persecutions in his Diocese, and personally sentenced a number of Protestants to be burned. He died August 2nd, 1556.—*Newcourt; Burnet; Coopers; Dallaway's Chichester, &c.*

* Sir Anthony Browne had been created Viscount Montague, September 27th, 1554. He had suffered imprisonment in the time of Edward VI., for hearing mass at the Princess Mary's court, and she did not forget him when she came to the throne. The only office he seems to have held at this time was that of Master of the Prince of Spain's horses, although he was soon after, if not now, one of the Lords of the Privy Council. He was a consistent Papist, but bore an excellent character, and continued afterwards so much in Elizabeth's favour that she sent him, in 1560, as Ambassador to Spain. He died October 19th, 1592.—*Lodge's Illustrations; Grey Friars' Chronicle, &c.*

ones. Upon this, Gardiner ordered him to sit down, and sneeringly told him that he was immodestly assuming to be their instructor. "I will not sit down!" said Rogers: "shall I not be suffered to speak for my life?" That he should not, was the evident determination of the Lord Chancellor, for he denounced him as a prater, found fault with his warmth and earnestness, and heaped taunts and rebukes upon him, until he had effectually put an end to any hope that he might have entertained of being heard. It appears, however, that, in the course of this furious declamation, Rogers succeeded in reiterating his former denunciation of the Church of Rome as anti-Christian, and in declaring plainly that by this he did not mean all the men and women who were of that Church, but had reference to its doctrines, laws, and customs,—especially to the system of persecution which it had ever resorted to, and particularly as maintained by the Bishops then before him, who represented that Church in England. This will be found to be one of the portions of Rogers' MS. which Foxe contrived to involve in a senseless mystery, but the meaning of which, in his own language, is sufficiently distinct. He also repeated his declaration that he had not positively denied the real presence, and that, in so stating, Gardiner misrepresented him. He now sought to express his views on that subject,—doubtless to the effect that he did not object to acknowledging Christ as present in the Sacrament, in a spiritual sense,—but his antagonist persisted in his assertion, and called all present to bear witness to the fact, who would, as Rogers asserts, being his own creatures, have sworn to anything that he desired, and so unhesitatingly confirmed the charge. Losing the last hope of justice being shown him, he

then admitted that he did say on the previous day that their doctrine of the Sacrament was false, but would still explain the reservations which he then made, if they would hear him. But no: the fatal edict had been already prepared, and Gardiner had its words by heart. They were burning in his breast like coals of fire, and their utterance would be no longer denied. He, himself, read the official sentence of condemnation, with, we may fairly presume, a satisfaction that was simply devilish. The man whom he had so hated for eighteen long years was now at his mercy, and his hitherto restrained vengeance could be satisfied with nothing less than this. The dignity of his official position would prevent him from actually heaping the faggots about his body at the stake, but the present gratification was his own peculiar perquisite, and he would not suffer one jot of it to escape him.

This sentence was in the general form that had been adopted for these occasions, the language being slightly varied to suit the respective cases, and was based upon that which had been pronounced upon Joan Bocher a few years before.* It embraced but two distinct charges, viz. that he had denounced the Church of Rome as anti-Christian, and that he denied the real presence in the Sacrament,—neither of which, as has already been shown, is possibly susceptible of a political character,—and it was upon these and these only that he was condemned. The sentence nominally only excommunicated him from the Romish Church, and delivered him into the hands of the secular authorities, apparently for further proceedings, but in reality placed

* See original and translation in the Appendix, p. 418.

him under what was known as the "great curse" of that Church, one consequence of which was that any person having the slightest intercourse with him became subject to the same penalties—a fact to which Gardiner was careful to call the attention of the bystanders—and also doomed him, without any further ceremony, to the tortures of a death by burning. Rogers well understood the intent of the words to which he had listened. He knew that every hope or prospect of life melted away under their utterance, and that but a few days — probably but a few hours — would intervene between that moment and the fiery trial,— and yet he was unmoved. His firmnesss never deserted him, but he became, if anything, more bold and resolute. His own language in reply to this dreadful sentence needs no enlargement :—"Well, my Lord," said he, "here I stand before God and this honourable audience, and take Him to witness that I never wittingly and willingly taught any false doctrine ; and therefore I have a good conscience before God and all good men. I am not afraid but that you and I shall come before a Judge which is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you ; and where, I nothing doubt, I shall be found a true member of the Catholic Church, and everlastingly saved. As for your false Church, you need not excommunicate me from it, for I have not been in it these twenty years — the Lord be praised therefor!" The evident honesty and holy resolution evinced in these simple but nervous sentences are apparent, and must have been doubly so to those who listened to them as they fell from his own lips. They were the last words of a doomed man, uttered at a time when there can be no reason to doubt their sincerity. They were his parting legacy to the world,

for henceforth he was to be as one not of it, having no reason to hope that he would on any occasion be suffered to open his lips, or even send messages in writing, to his family or friends. But, even in this distressing crisis, the husband and father again resumed their sway, and he humbled himself to ask the last sad boon from his inexorable judge, praying that, as he had now done all that he could to insure his own personal destruction, he would yet grant him one favour. "What is that?" hurriedly inquired the Lord Chancellor, hoping, perhaps, that it might be a request for some delay, embodying an intimation that his recantation might not be impossible, after the example of one or more of his fellow prisoners. But if such were his thought, it was speedily put to flight. It was not of himself that his victim was then thinking, or for the prolongation of his own life that he was pleading, but of and for the loved and loving ones not far distant, to whom the words that he had just heard would soon come with a terrible force and import. It is not difficult to imagine that the eye, which till now had been clear and lustrous, was dimmed by a tear, and that the voice, hitherto unbroken, was now tremulous with anxiety, as he meekly urged his final petition in these tender and expressive words: "That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live,"— and seeing, perhaps, the already determined denial in the face or manner of him whom he addressed, adding what should have softened even a heart of adamant,—"for she hath ten children that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her what it were best for her to do." Humanity, even to this day, shudders to know that such an appeal was in vain. The tenets of his Church

concerning the matrimony of priests, as well as his own personal experiences, had so demoralised this man, that he could not appreciate and would not respond to the sacred yearnings of an honest husband and father. The opportunity to add another and still greater torture to the sufferings of his victim was too tempting to be thrown away; but there were, doubtless, other husbands and fathers then present, and he was shrewd enough to endeavour to make his refusal appear a necessary consequence of his position, rather than an arbitrary edict of his own. "She is not thy wife!" said he. "Yes, my Lord," replied Rogers, earnestly, "and hath been these eighteen years." "Suppose I were to admit it?" was the wily response—the words intimating a possibility that he might do so. But Rogers probably saw that such was not his intention, for he evidently abandoned all hope, and retorted, with sorrowful indignation,—"Choose, whether you will or not: she shall be so, nevertheless." "She shall not come near thee!" shouted the man Gardiner, his insane desire to gratify his revenge triumphing over the cooler purposes of the judge. Is it to be wondered at, that, at that moment and under such provocation, Rogers administered the terrible rebuke which he has recorded, and the truth of which was so well understood that no one present ventured to interpose a denial? How soon, or in what manner, they recovered from the effect of his audacious but richly merited exposure of their priestly criminality, there are no means of knowing, for he was immediately led away, doubtless to their great relief.

It is stated, and, so far as can be ascertained, correctly, that Gardiner never afterwards made his appearance as a judge at the trials of the Protestants. It may

be that he designed merely to inaugurate these proceedings, and give to the tribunals the weight of his high official character and position; but, as he did preside, in person, from the commencement until the close of this particular trial, and then resign his superior station to others, very strong confirmatory evidence is furnished of the bitter personal malignity which he is alleged to have entertained towards Rogers, the causes of which have been before discussed.

Having thus given Rogers' version of his various examinations, it cannot but be interesting, and will be proper, to see what account his judges themselves placed upon record. A copy, in Latin, of the official minutes, evidently authentic, will be found among the Foxe MSS. at the British Museum, of which the following is a translation.* Its references are to the place of trial, and the names of the persons present, as detailed in previous records of the same day:—

"Monday, January 28th [1555].

"The proceedings of my Lord against John Rogers, *alias* Matthew."

"On the day, and at the place aforesaid, the said John Rogers, *alias* Matthew, was produced for trial; whom my Lord addressed, and exhorted that he should reconcile himself and return to the unity of the Catholic Church. But he, with a shameless mind and froward spirit, presently burst out into some such words as these:—

"'My Lord, where you say you willed me to rise again with you, and so to come to the unity of Christ's Church, I take you, by those your words, that you willed me to fall; for I do understand the Church otherwise than you do: for I do understand the Church

* See original in the Appendix.

of Christ, and you do understand the Romish Church of Antichrist: and I say that the Pope's Church which you believe is the Church of Antichrist.'

"Also he saith, as touching his belief in the Sacrament of the Altar, that he believeth that Christ is in heaven, and believeth not that his very body and blood is really and substantially in the Sacrament of the Altar.

"Also he saith that, in that he, being a priest, did marry, he offended no law.

"And saith also, that the Bishops maintain herein one false faith, one false doctrine, and one false word.

"The premises being transacted, my Lord appointed the same John Rogers to make appearance the next day, in this place, between eight and ten o'clock in the morning, to attend upon further proceedings.

"On which day, viz. Tuesday, the 29th day of January,—in the place aforesaid, and before the said reverend father, the Bishop of Winchester, with the Bishops, his colleagues, who are specified above in the before-written acts of this day, and in the presence of us, the aforesaid notaries,—the said John Rogers, *alias* Matthew, again appeared; whom the Lord Bishop of Winchester pressed to recant, with many reasons, arguments, persuasions, and exhortations: notwithstanding and utterly scorning which, Rogers persisted stubbornly in his perverse mind. And then, the Lord Bishop, proceeding against him as an obstinate and stubborn heretic, pronounced a definite sentence of condemnation, and delivered him over to the secular court, and committed him to the said Sheriffs of London, who took him away with them.

"On the production [or recital] of whose sentence, the said reverend father required us, the undersigned notaries, &c.

"Present, then and there, they to whom reference has been made in the before-written acts of this day."

Brief as is this record, it will be seen that, so far as the charges against Rogers are concerned, it agrees exactly with his own account, and, indeed, might very well be adopted as a synopsis of it; which furnishes as strong corroborative testimony as can be desired, both of his own correctness and of the real character of his alleged offences.

CHAPTER VII.

CLOSING SCENES.

Return to Newgate.—Demonstrations of the People.—Fears of a Rescue.—Confined more rigidly than before.—Treated with especial Severity.—Conversation with Day.—Advice respecting the future Conduct of the Church.—His Cheerfulness.—Pleasant Message to Hooper.—His last Sleep.—His last Waking.—Degradation from the Priesthood.—Appeal to Bonner for permission to speak "a few words" to his Wife.—Bonner's Brutal Refusal.—Insolence of one of the Sheriffs.—Rogers' Mildness and holy Temper.—The March to Smithfield.—Conduct of the People.—Affecting Meeting with his Family.—His Resolution unshaken.—Sings his own Death-song.—Again the Saviour of the Reformation.—Its first Martyr.—Scene at the Stake.—Refuses a Pardon.—Reasons why his Case is entitled to pre-eminent Consideration.—His Wife and Son visit the Prison.—Discovery of his Papers.—Another Review of Foxe's Inaccuracies.—Identification of the Place of Burning in Smithfield.—Effect of his Death on the People.—On his late Fellow-prisoners.—Testimony of Bradford and Ridley.—Not the first Martyr by Accident or by Compulsion.—Effect of his Teachings and Example illustrated.—Incidentally saves Coverdale's Life.—Uncertain Disposition of his Family.—Conclusion.

It appears, from contemporaneous accounts, that some fears were entertained of an attempt to rescue Rogers and Hooper, on the evening of their condemnation. Reports of the occurrences of the preceding day's trial had, doubtless, been circulated among the people, among whom there must have been many who were indisposed to look calmly upon the treatment to which two men so much respected and beloved had been subjected, and it is hardly probable that the terrible sentence just pronounced could have been kept from

their knowledge very long after its delivery. That there must have been some reason to apprehend a serious tumult, is proved by the preparations that were made for their safe transmission from the judgment hall, in St. Mary Overy's church, to their old quarters in Newgate. They were first removed to the Clink Prison, in Southwark, where they were detained until night. In the meantime, orders were issued, and officers sent in advance to see that they were executed, that the lights in the streets through which they were to pass should be extinguished, including even the torches upon the stalls of the costermongers, to the intent that the prisoners and their attendants might pass over the route without being recognised, or, at least, interrupted. When all the arrangements had been perfected, and secresy secured, as was supposed, these two weak and helpless men — themselves not even indulging a thought of escape, but guarded as effectually as if they had been endowed with the strength of a thousand giants — were taken from the Clink, attended by a numerous body of officials, armed, as Rogers says, "with bills and weapons enough," and first led through the Bishop's house (probably to mislead the bystanders), thence through St. Mary Overy's churchyard into the open streets, and so across London Bridge towards Newgate. The precautions for privacy had, however, been in vain, for the officers found, greatly to their surprise and annoyance, that the streets were lined with men and women, holding lighted candles in their hands, who cheered the prisoners, as they passed between their ranks, with affectionate salutations and assurances of sympathy, as well as thanksgivings for their fortitude, and prayers for its endurance. These pious souls had no other means of

testifying their affection and respect, nor could they then be restrained from such a manifestation, but they made no more serious demonstration of their feelings, and it does not appear that any notice was subsequently taken of it.

Rogers re-entered his cell that night, conscious that his very hours were numbered, although, as was then the custom, no notice was given him of the precise day of his execution. Of the incidents of the succeeding five days, but little is known. His confinement appears to have been rigid and solitary. We hear, in other cases, of strenuous attempts being made to induce the condemned to recant, and of discussions between them and eminent Romish preachers, but of no such means employed with him. It was either considered a hopeless task, or else, as is most probable, it was fully determined that, under no circumstances, should he escape the full penalty of the law. Bradford and others wrote numerous letters, and sent messages to their friends, after their condemnation, but not a line or a word of his has come down to us ; showing conclusively that he was, in this respect, subjected to the utmost severity, and that he only, of all those in confinement, was thus treated. Surely, it is not assuming too much in saying that he must have been regarded as the most to be feared of all his class ; and that he was considered as supremely dangerous, both on account of his superior abilities generally, and of the great injury that he had already inflicted upon the Popish cause, by his Biblical and other labours. For these alleged offences, and to prevent effectually the possibility of their renewal, he was assuredly to die ; and his enemies had already seen enough of his firmness to convince them that any efforts to induce him to recant would prove utterly

fruitless. So he was left to himself,—to reflect upon his own fate and that of his unhappy family, and to endure, as best he could, in silence and solitude, the few remaining hours of his earthly existence. He did, indeed, succeed in eluding the watchfulness of his jailers so far as to write a hurried account of his examinations, and to add thereto several pages, containing the substance of what he would have said to his judges, if he had been permitted; but this must have been done very stealthily, for it appears, by the closing paragraph (which Foxe very unnecessarily omitted), that he was not able even to complete that task, and ended it abruptly, as he says, for lack of time.

During these few days, it is probable that he had the conversation recorded with Day, who was afterwards the publisher of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, and who was, at that time, a fellow-prisoner.* This time is fixed upon, because he seems to intimate his own approaching death as certain, which, until now, was only probable. It is not impossible that there was some intercourse among the prisoners themselves, permitting so short a conversation as this, although they were entirely prohibited from conversing with persons from without the jail. This account was, doubtless, furnished by Day himself, and may therefore be relied upon. Foxe endeavours to give his language a prophetical character, and would seem to

* John Day, well known as one of the most voluminous and successful printers and publishers of his times. Besides the Acts and Monuments, he issued many other works concerning the Reformation, by which his memory has been chiefly perpetuated. He also published several editions of the Bible, with Rogers' Notes, &c. After the imprisonment here referred to, he went abroad for a time, but resumed his business on his return, and seems to have continued it until his death, which occurred July 23rd, 1584.—*Ames; Stow: Nichols, &c.*

intimate that this constituted its only value — an opinion with which it is not absolutely necessary to agree. According to Day, Rogers said to him as follows : —

" Thou shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the Gospel to be freely preached again : therefore, have me commended to my brethren, as well those in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the Papists, and putting good ministers into the churches, or else their end will be worse than ours."

His meaning was evidently this : he was aware that Day was confined on some comparatively trifling charge, and that his offence was not of a character to require the sacrifice of his life,—so that he might safely assume his speedy deliverance. He desired, therefore, that he would communicate the results of his own experience to his Protestant brethren, — especially to those then in exile, but who would eventually return, when the present dynasty (which he felt sure would not, in the providence of God, be of long duration) was overthrown, — in order that they might profit thereby, and thus avoid the fatal errors which had led to such sad results in the true Church in the time of Edward VI. He appears to have urged, when that time should arrive, the summary removal of all Popish priests, whose places should be supplied by ministers of the opposite faith, — the failure to do which, in the late reign, led to the immediate and thorough downfall of that Church on the accession of the new sovereign, inasmuch as the Papist far outnumbered the Protestant clergy, even at the death of Edward, and necessarily retained an overwhelming influence among the people, which became absolute as soon as the change in the

Government added the weight of the civil to their religious power.

He also communicated to Day the outlines of a system, the introduction of which he recommended, and which was, briefly, as follows: That as, after the present persecutions should cease, there would probably be a lack of educated and reliable Protestant ministers, from among those whose lives were spared Superintendents should be chosen, each of whom should have the charge or supervision of ten churches or congregations, having under him faithful and competent readers or assistants, who should act somewhat in the capacity of curates, and for whose character and conduct he should be responsible. At least once in each year, the Superintendent should visit officially each parish, examine carefully into the acts and general conduct of its minister, and their effects upon his congregation, and either confirm him in his position or replace him by a better man. In this manner, every church throughout the realm might be supplied, without retaining a single Romish priest. The Bishops of each Diocese should exercise the same authority and supervision over the Superintendents, and hold them to a strict yearly account. This system was, of course, designed to be temporary, and the various churches were to be supplied with regular clergymen as rapidly as they became qualified to assume the more responsible positions. Bishop Hooper, it appears, approved and recommended the adoption of this course, and it was, according to Strype, followed to some extent, after the accession of Elizabeth.*

* It was also adopted by the congregations which, in spite of the persecutions, maintained their existence and held their assemblies, even in London, all through the reign of Mary. Austin Bernher, the friend

Rogers seems to have maintained not only his firmness, but his cheerfulness (if it may, under such circumstances, be so designated), to the last moment. Only the day before his death (it being Sunday), and probably while at his dinner, he is said (doubtless on Day's authority) to have drank Hooper's health — he being then confined in another apartment — and to have bidden his attendants to tell him that "there was never little fellow better would stick to a man than he would stick to him,"—evidently supposing that, as they had been condemned at the same time, they would also suffer together.* This jocularity, at such a time and under such circumstances, was remarkable; but it indicated the resolution and resignation of the Christian martyr, rather than the carelessness or recklessness which we even now sometimes witness in the most hardened criminal. It is possible that the expression "little fellow," then used, referred to the person of Rogers. We have elsewhere no account of his physical conformation, and nothing certain concerning his stature can be gathered from his portraits.†

and servant of Latimer, and correspondent of Ridley and other martyrs, was one of their preachers. The eventful history of these little bands, which, combined, represented the true Church in England at that period, is of the deepest interest and utmost importance. The writer has collected a mass of information respecting them, which he hopes to be able, at some future day, to lay before the world.

* John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester. His history is too well known to require repetition here. The writer's own opinion of him may be gathered from what little has been hitherto said, and he has no hesitation in avowing his belief that, next to Rogers, he was the truest and most manly of all the Marian martyrs. Bradford may be placed next. Hooper, it will be remembered, was taken to Gloucester, where he was burned on the 9th of February, 1555.

† The portrait in Holland's Heroologia, published in 1620, (of which the one in this volume is a faithful copy, although slightly reduced in size), has always been much admired, and of its genuineness no

In less than twenty-four hours after the utterance of that pleasantry, all that was left of its author was a little heap of ashes at the foot of the fatal stake in Smithfield. He laid himself down that night to take his last sleep on earth. How calm and peaceful was that repose, how little disturbed by the realities of the past or shadows of the future, how quiet must have been his conscience, and how trustful the soul that he committed to his Maker as he closed his eyes for the last time, may be gathered from the fact that the jailer's wife, who came in the morning to summon him to the presence of Bonner, found him still sleeping, and that so soundly that it required not a little effort to arouse him. Few persons, on being suddenly awakened from a deep slumber, find themselves in the full possession of their ordinary faculties; but it does not seem that Rogers was at all disconcerted, for, on being informed that his last hour had come, and bidden to make haste, he quietly and coolly replied, as he proceeded to dress himself — "If it be so, I need not tie my points!" This good and truly great man, sustained by his unfaltering trust in the God whom he had so faithfully served, and confident that he was being used as one of His humble instruments in effecting His great purposes, appears to have been so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of resignation, and so completely prepared for any emergency, that nothing could approach him as a surprise. This frame of mind enabled him also to submit, without a murmur, to the miserable farce to which

doubt whatever is entertained. A smaller one, but by no means so satisfactory, will be found in Freherus' Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum, Nuremberg, 1688, p. 162. This was probably taken from the one in the Heroologia, but is not nearly so well executed, nor is the likeness faithfully preserved. These two are the only ones that have yet been discovered.

he was now summoned — that of degradation from the priesthood, at the hands of one whom he well knew to be, despite his official character, one of the most wretched and despicable of men.*

It seems a little strange that this formality was deemed necessary in these cases. Rogers, particularly, had not even professed to be in the Romish Church for more than twenty years, and, indeed, had been, for nearly the whole of that time, its avowed and most uncompromising enemy. No one pretended to connect him with it, for he had, voluntarily and deliberately, released himself from it in various ways, — by writing and preaching against it, by departing from all its doctrines and customs, and by marrying a wife, — while he had, if such were necessary to complete his severance from it, already been formally excommunicated. But it was a ceremony invariably performed, probably to increase the effect of the punishment upon the people, although the chief actors in it must have regarded it as simply what it has been characterised — a senseless farce. It appears to have consisted in arraying the

* Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London. If it were possible to moderate, in any degree, the language that has been used in regard to this man, the writer would cheerfully do so; but he has sought in vain for a satisfactory authority to attribute to him one redeeming quality, or one generous or manly act. That he may not stand alone before his readers, as holding, in these more liberal times, a very severe but fully justifiable opinion concerning him, he quotes from a modern authority. Lord Campbell, in his Lives of the Lord Chancellors, besides using the following epithets respecting him, viz. "furious zealot," "remorseless persecutor," "brutally ignorant," "his manners so offensive," "so generally abhorred," &c., declares that he was "the most brutal and bloody persecutor who ever appeared in this island." (Vol. ii. p. 67.) Certainly, the author of the line "De mortuis," &c., never dreamed that such a fiend in human shape as Edmund Bonner could ever exist, or he would have particularly excepted him from its application. He died in prison, September 5th, 1569, and was buried, appropriately, at midnight, in a spot reserved for the interment of thieves and murderers.

condemned in the full canonicals of the offices which they nominally bore, although they had not worn these garments for years, and then rending them piecemeal from their persons, accompanying these actions with certain prescribed invocations and anathemas. In the present case, the idea of such a man as Bonner really effecting the degradation of such an one as Rogers would be, were it not absolutely revolting, simply absurd. We may be quite certain that he proceeded from his cell to the chapel of Newgate, where Bonner was already awaiting him, really feeling very little interest in the transaction, and assuredly indulging in no dread of its spiritual consequences. His mind, just then, was doubtless occupied with the final appeal that he was about to make to his old enemy, in reference to his family, for, as soon as the last curse had been uttered, we find him craving of the Bishop a single boon. "What is that?" asked Bonner, in imitation of his master, Gardiner, under similar circumstances. "Only" — said Rogers, reducing his request to the smallest possible favour — "that I may talk *a few words* with my wife before my burning." In what terms the brutal denial fell from Bonner's lips, we need not know or care to know: we may be sure, however, that it was in no gracious ones. It is certain that the dying man's request was denied, and that, if there were no other sins to lay to his charge, that inhuman Prelate thus stamped his character with an infamy that shall cling to it as long as his name lives in history.

Bonner was supported on this occasion by several of his confidential but least reputable officers and servants, viz. John Harpesfield, Archdeacon of London*;

* The odious character of this man is proverbial. He appears to have been

Robert Cosin* and Robert Willanton†, Canons of St. Paul's; Thomas Montague, George How‡, and Tristram Swadell§, clerks; and Richard Cluney‖, his summoner and the keeper of his private prison. Contemporaneous records state that they were attended by a great company of the guard; as though, even within the security of that terrible prison, they feared the resistance of a single powerless man.

It may seem of small moment, but it would appear that this was not the only brutality to which Rogers was that day subjected. He seems to have been hur-

Bonner's "right-hand man," and to have nearly rivalled him in all his worst traits. He was imprisoned for a year, after Elizabeth's accession, and then released under heavy bonds. He is said to have spent the rest of his days in seclusion, and chiefly in devotional exercises — it is to be hoped to his spiritual benefit. He died late in the year 1578.—*Wood: Newcourt, &c.*

* Robert Cosin was at this time one of Bonner's chaplains, and also a Prebendary of St. Paul's. In 1558, he was made Treasurer of St. Paul's, but was deprived of all his preferments immediately after Queen Mary's death. His fate is unknown.

† Robert Willanton was another of Bonner's favourite chaplains, and also a Prebendary of St. Paul's. In 1556, he became Rector of Hornsey, and, in 1558, succeeded Rogers' immediate successor in the Prebend of St. Pancras. He is said to have been quite a learned man, but was, of course, an extreme zealot. He lost all his livings by the change of Government, and no subsequent trace of him is found.

‡ No other reference is found to Thomas Montague or George How. Newcourt does not mention them as holding any livings. Possibly they were two of Bonner's subordinates, and certainly men after his own heart, or they would not have been detailed on this service.

§ Tristram Swadell was probably another of the same class with How and Montague. Strype mentions him as a servant of Bonner, "altogether unlearned, but yet very subtle." He afterwards became Rector of Stepney (then a sinecure), and a Prebendary of St. Paul's, but was deprived and disappeared early in Elizabeth's reign.

‖ The character of Cluney may be readily imagined, from the disgusting positions which he held under such a master. He was the jailer of what was known as the "Coal House," the horrors of which are too terrible to be detailed. His fate is unknown, and of very little importance.

riedly awakened, and dragged at once to the chapel, without being permitted his usual morning refreshment. Bonner was, according to the accounts, already in waiting, and he, who could refuse a dying man's entreaty for one parting word with the wife of his bosom, was not likely to permit any delay, in order that a prisoner might satisfy the cravings of nature. This seems also more probable, from the fact that the ceremony of degradation must have occupied a considerable time, and the private journals of those days state that Rogers was taken to Smithfield between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning.

Bonner, as the representative of his Church, had now done with his victim, and he became the exclusive charge of the sheriffs, who appear to have had nothing personally to do with him until now, and who proceeded immediately to the execution of their dreadful task. But even now he could not be suffered to go to his doom in peace. His few last moments, when he must have desired to commune alone with his God, must be interrupted by the senseless and flippant interference of one of those officers—Mr. Woodroffe—who appears to have been the active and most willing instrument of the law on this as on similar occasions.* Certainly, he could not have seriously expected to suc-

* David Woodroffe. The writer is not disposed to repeat the stories of Foxe, and kindred authors, respecting the retributive justice that is represented as speedily overtaking this sheriff. We may, however, be quite certain that his uniform conduct to the Protestant prisoners was of the most cruel and heartless character. He appears to have been, later in the same year, stricken with paralysis, and to have been bed-ridden for more than seven years. He was buried on the 31st of March, 1563, in St. Andrew Undershaft, and his funeral was one of great magnificence. From the accounts given of it by contemporaneous writers, he must have been of some note at the time of his death.—*Fuller; Stow; Diary of Henry Machyn, &c.*

ceed in an attempt wherein a whole bench of Bishops had failed, or that he could induce his prisoner to recant, when both were well aware that even recantation would have been of no avail. But, whatever his motive — whether to gratify his vanity by such an exercise of authority, or in order to distract the thoughts of the dying man — he addressed him to the effect that he might, even then, revoke what he called his abominable doctrine, and his evil opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar. Rogers' reply was as simple as it was grand and decisive :—"That," said he, "which I have preached, I will seal with my blood!" "Then thou art an heretic!" said the sheriff, evidently not knowing what else to say. "That," meekly replied Rogers, "shall be known at the day of judgment." "Well," continued Woodroffe, "I will never pray for thee!" as if he thus deprived the Martyr of some important aid in his approaching journey to heaven. "But I will pray for you," was the gentle and truly Christian response of the undisturbed soul, whose pious aspirations were, doubtless, then ascending in behalf alike of friends and foes. The heartless sheriff was silenced, and proceeded with his stricter duties.

It was Monday morning, between nine and ten o'clock, the 4th day of February, 1555, when Rogers was led, for the last time, through the gates of the dreary prison that had been his home for more than a twelvemonth, and, amidst a formidable array of armed guards, was conducted towards Smithfield. His emotions may, to some extent, be conceived, but cannot be wholly understood. Doubtless, he gazed backwards, giving one last look to the venerable Cathedral where he had often ministered, and breathed a silent prayer for those then within its familiar precincts.

But a few steps brought him within the shadow of his own church walls, and perhaps, even then, the bell of St. Sepulchre's, which had often called him to its altar, was tolling slowly in its ancient tower the funeral knell of its old pastor. Thousands of spectators met his eye on every side, and among them he recognised many a familiar face. In spite of the guards by whom he was surrounded, their emotions could not be restrained, and the air resounded with their acclamations of joy and sorrow — sorrow, that their old friend and teacher was to be torn from them in such a terrible manner, and joy, that he met his doom so nobly and fearlessly. Shouts of praise and thanksgiving arose from every direction, as he passed along on that fatal march, and so wonderful and earnest was the general rejoicing, that even the enemies of his faith described him and the scene as a bridegroom going to meet his bride at the wedding altar.*

Still onward moves the cortége. Just yonder, directly in its way, waits a little group, towards which the doomed man, step by step, draws nearer. Will he falter now? Will his trust, great as it is, in his Almighty Father, sustain him in this last and most fearful trial? Is he flesh and blood, or a being so spiritually refined that the common sentiments of humanity have no longer a place within his breast?

* Count Noailles, then the French Ambassador at London, and a zealous Papist, wrote to Montmorency on the same day, as follows: —

"This day was performed the confirmation of the alliance between the Pope and this kingdom, by a public and solemn sacrifice of a preaching Doctor named Rogers, who has been burned alive for being a Lutheran; but he died persisting in his opinion. At this conduct, the greatest part of the people took such pleasure, that they were not afraid to make him many exclamations to strengthen his courage. Even his children assisted at it, comforting him in such a manner that it seemed as if he had been led to a wedding."—*Ambassades*, vol. iv.

There wait the loving and faithful woman who for eighteen years has lain in his bosom, clasping to her heart an unconscious infant which he has never before seen, and by her side ten other little ones whom God has given them. Their anxious faces are all turned upon him, and their dear and well-remembered voices reach his ear in one distracting cry for husband and father. Will that passionate appeal, those imploring looks, the tender memories of the past, and the anxious forebodings of the future, not move a heart that is not already turned to stone? Breathless is the crowd that gazes upon this scene — hopeful are the enemies of his faith — fearful are its friends. But doubts, hopes, fears, anxieties — all are soon dispelled. One long, soul-full, never to be forgotten look — one silent, solemn blessing — one solitary, momentary yielding to the natural emotions of human nature — and the man becomes again the martyr. Slowly, but firmly, he passes on, and the next instant issue from his lips, in mournful but inspiring cadences, the strains of the glorious Miserere.

From that moment, the ultimate success of the Reformation was assured. The true faith might then be hidden in darkness, and years might elapse before its sun would again arise to dispel the mists of error that should envelope it for a season, but it would appear at last. *For, at least, the third time had the responsibility of the Protestant movement in England rested upon this one humble man, and for the third and last time did he sustain it with the unflinching heroism of something more than man.* Had he failed in either instance, but especially on this occasion, God alone knows the consequences that might have ensued.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the details of the

final scene at the stake. All writers, both Protestant and Romish, united in bearing testimony to the wonderful patience and constancy, nay, even cheerfulness, with which he met his fearful doom. The spectators were more numerous than upon any subsequent occasion, and, although he was not permitted to speak much to them, he did succeed in exhorting them to remain true to the faith which he had taught and many of them had embraced, and in defence of which he had not only been content to suffer all that he had already endured, but now gladly resigned his life in this cruel manner, as his final testimony in its behalf. After this the fires were lighted, and, as they began to take effect upon him, he passed his hands through the flames, rubbing them as if in the act of washing — as though he were thus ridding himself of the last impurities of earth — and then, lifting them up towards heaven, he held them in that position until consciousness ceased, and his soul took its flight towards its eternal home.

According to the instructions of Queen Mary — nominally prepared and issued by her, but, doubtless, really the production of Gardiner — official witnesses from the Court were to be present on these occasions, in order to add to their importance and solemnity. Those who attended in this capacity, at the burning of Rogers, were Sir Robert Rochester and Sir Richard Southwell.

It is said that a pardon, in official form, was brought and presented to him, after he was attached to the stake, just before the fires were kindled, conditioned upon his recantation, but that he shortly and peremptorily rejected it upon those terms. The probability is that his acceptance of it would not then have preserved his life, for we have subsequent evidence, in the

ROGERS AT THE STAKE [From the Acts and Monuments, 1563

case of Cranmer, of the inefficacy of such a course : but, if it had done so, it would have been at the expense of everything that he held dear. The entire moral effect of the teachings of his whole life, and especially of the constancy which he had hitherto displayed, would have been neutralised or totally destroyed, and the consequent effect upon the people must have been such as to inflict a most deadly blow upon the vitality of the Reformation. But there seems never to have been the slightest disposition on his part to yield the minutest point of his faith to the demands of his enemies. It has been shown that, from the first, he steadily resisted every temptation, and even declined, for conscience sake, to fly from the country, when it was in his power to do so. He evidently recognised the immense responsibilities cast upon him on various occasions, and believed it to be his especial duty to remain firm, whatever might be the consequences. He saw others, even among his fellow preachers, shrink from the fate presented to their view, but such defection only excited his compassion for them, while it confirmed his own resolution. Had he lived a few months longer, he might possibly have witnessed a still more sad instance, for there is good reason to suppose that Cranmer would never have recanted his recantation, had his life been spared.*

* The writer desires not to be misunderstood in his estimate of Cranmer. That he was a great and good man, and of wonderful utility in the movements of the Reformation, he firmly believes ; but that he was the main-spring or main-stay of it, he as frankly denies. Had he not been, by accident or good fortune, the Archbishop of Canterbury, he would never have occupied the prominence in history that he now does. He was often weak and vacillating, much given to temporising and expediency, and, worse than all, he lacked the moral energy always to do right, while he was unquestionably deficient in that physical courage which is also requisite to constitute the true martyr. The writer is willing to admit that this was his misfortune, rather than his fault.

There is little more to add to the general narrative. Reference has already been made to the discovery of the few writings of Rogers which fortunately escaped the vigilance of his keepers. After his death, his wife and their son Daniel visited and examined the apartment that he had occupied in Newgate, perhaps merely in response to that natural impulse which leads all mourning survivors to seek those places which have been hallowed by the presence of the loved and lost while living, but probably in the hope of discovering some memento of him whose face they were to see no more. It is not impossible that, through the tenderness of one of the sheriffs — Mr. Chester *— he had been permitted to embrace his wife and children when they met him on his way to Smithfield, and that he then contrived to inform them that he had left such papers behind him. The reverse, however, is most probable, for, if he had revealed so much, he could also have intimated the precise place of their deposit; and yet, we are told that they searched some time in vain, and were about leaving the cell, when the son accidentally espied something black lying in a dark corner, which proved to be the envelope containing the writings in question. From the treatment he had received, up to this time, from

* William Chester, "citizen and draper," then Alderman and Sheriff of London, and also M.P. He was elected Lord Mayor in 1560. He appears to have become Sir William Chester while only an Alderman, being knighted by Queen Mary, February 7th, 1556, on the same day with the then Lord Mayor. All writers give him an excellent character, even Foxe admitting that he always behaved towards the Protestant prisoners with much mildness, and often exhibited much sorrow on account of the duties imposed upon him by his official position. During his Mayoralty the Merchant Taylors' School was founded. He subsequently retired from business of all kinds, and resided in Cambridge University as a fellow-commoner, having been made M.A. by special grace, at the instance of Bishop Grindall. The date of his death is unknown, but he was living as late as 1567.—*Stow; Fuller; Strype; Coopers, &c.*

every one in authority, and the accounts that we have of the other sheriff — Woodroffe — the character of that interview is more likely to have been as has already been described, and it is probable that no words were suffered to pass between him and his family. Bonner had positively refused, only a few minutes before, to grant this favour, and it is not likely that the officials then having him in charge would dare to permit any infraction of his prohibition, brutal as it was.

Slight as are these memorials of the First Martyr, without them we should have known very little of his personal history during his last days, and their discovery and preservation, though not deserving to be regarded as miraculous (as Foxe fondly represents), were very fortunate. Foxe, himself, evidently knew little or nothing of him, personally, and it is to be feared, as has been before intimated, that the particulars concerning him, from which he compiled his original account, were furnished by one who had not quite forgotten that he had stood in his way in reference to certain coveted preferments. We are really indebted to Foxe for no part or portion of his history, and the name of that *historian* (the writer gives him the title only because every body else does) need not have been used at all in the present narrative, had it not been necessary to correct his numerous errors concerning the Martyr. Whether these errors were intentional or not, the reader must judge for himself. Certainly, he states many things about him which are proved to be untrue, and omits other particulars of importance with which he was or ought to have been acquainted. For instance, in his first English edition, we find this sentence: "This Rogers was first committed to prison, Anno 1553, the month of August, and there continued a twelve

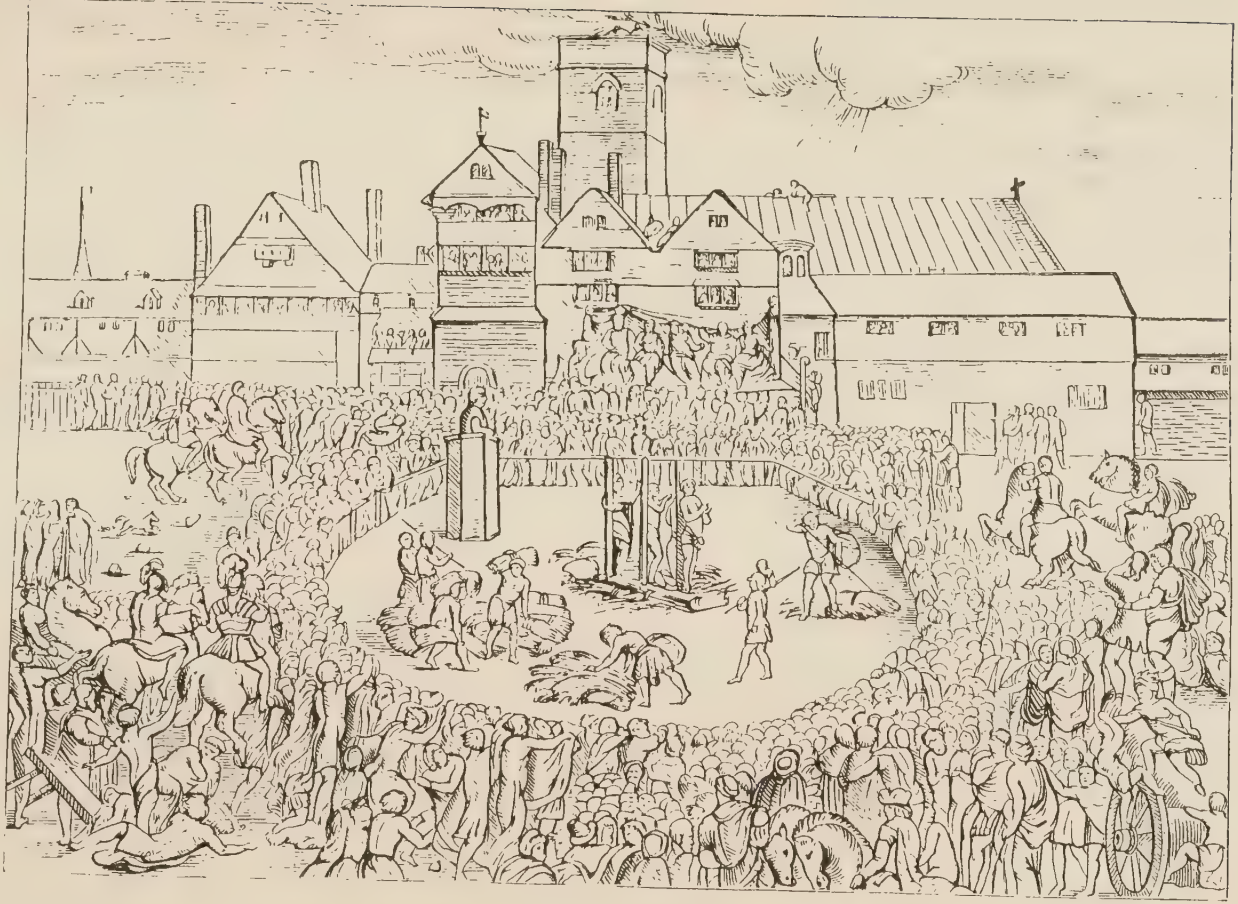
month and a half." Passing over the marked incivility in the first two words, which sound as if they described the humblest and most obscure person in the world, let us notice the error in the rest of the sentence. He was not committed to prison in the month of August 1553, nor until more than five months afterwards. In another place, he speaks of him as holding certain official positions and preferments, at the time of Joan of Kent's condemnation, which he did not acquire until more than two years later. This misrepresentation, whether designed or not, increased the odium attached to the incident related. He attributes his conversion to Protestantism, in part, to the influence of Coverdale, when it is quite certain that the two men never met, if at all, until years afterwards. He makes him a Chaplain of the Merchants at Antwerp for many years, when he was really so for comparatively only a few months. On the other hand, he fails to give him the credit to which he was unquestionably entitled from his labours in connection with the first authorised English Bible, and represents that connection as of the slightest possible character. He never mentions his various Church preferments, especially the important Vicarage of St. Sepulchre, indicating the estimation in which he was held by the highest authorities, but, on the contrary, where Rogers refers to them in his own MS., he unscrupulously strikes out the entire passage. He only names him as a Prebendary of St. Paul's, when, according to Cranmer's account of the Prebendaries of those days, it was rather a reproach than an honour to belong to that body. It may be said that we are indebted to Foxe for nothing, except, perhaps, that he was instrumental in preserving the MS. in question, which now, after the lapse of more than three centuries, rises up in

judgment against him. Many things which he states to be true are unquestionably not so, and those that are, we are able to obtain from other sources. But, worse than all this, when naturally supposing that we can rely upon those portions of his narrative which he declares were written by the Martyr himself, a fact of which he takes particular care to assure us, we suddenly find that our trust has been betrayed, and that we have been receiving those documents after a wholesale mutilation as unjust as it was unnecessary. Surely, after this exposition in reference to a single portion of his voluminous work, it is not unfair to presume that similar discrepancies and misrepresentations may exist throughout the whole of it. The writer may say that he has already compared other documents, which he discovered simultaneously with the one concerning Rogers, with the accounts in the Acts and Monuments, and finds manifested the same disregard to the integrity of the originals; so that hereafter, if compelled to read a narrative from any portion of that work, he must, for his own part, do so with the consciousness that he is probably perusing that which, if it did not contain occasional veracious passages, might more properly be classed among absolute fictions.

It is not enough to be told, by one class of his apologists, that Foxe intended to be correct and truthful, or, by another, that he was not responsible for any misstatements that were furnished him by others. It is impossible to receive either of these excuses, which have been urged in his behalf for the last two centuries. If he had aimed at correctness, he could, certainly, have attained a higher degree of it than he manifested; or, if not, he should not have palmed upon the world as true what he had not thoroughly verified. We had

better have known nothing of the details of the Marian persecutions, than to have been so long misled by such a conglomeration of perverted facts and baseless fancies. On the other hand, he was responsible for all that he finally published, and had no right to embody, in what purported to be a veritable history, the crude contributions from persons not known to him to be entitled to confidence and respect. He seems to have gathered his materials from all sorts of sources, to have regarded everything that he acquired as authentic, and, to resort to a homely simile, to have tumbled the heterogeneous mass into the hopper of the printing-mill, with but the single object of securing the most extensive results from the operation of its mechanism. Neither is it enough to be told, as by Strype, that his transcripts and quotations from the public records and other documents are faithful and exact. Even this is not always the case; but, if it were, it would only prove that he did not dare to falsify those records, any important variation from which would be readily detected and exposed. But that he did not pay the same respect to the integrity of private documents, of which he possessed, in many instances, perhaps the only copies, and which should have constituted the greatest value of his work, is abundantly proved by the single illustration that has been furnished in the case of Rogers. *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus:* the quotation is a stale one, but, it is to be feared, in his case wonderfully appropriate.

The precise spot where the fatal stake was usually planted in Smithfield has been sufficiently identified. For a long time, a square piece of pavement composed of stones of a dark colour, a few paces in front of the entrance gate of the Church of St. Bartholomew, tra-



SMITHFIELD IN 1555. [From the Acts and Monuments, 1563

[illegible] [illegible] DENTIFIED.

ditionally marked the locality. In the year 1849, during the progress of certain excavations, this pavement was removed, and beneath it, at the distance of some three feet, were found a number of rough stones, and a quantity of ashes, in the midst of which were discovered a few charred and partially destroyed bones. This spot accords exactly with the one designated in old engravings of those times, and there can be scarcely a doubt of its identity.* Here, then, first the Martyr Rogers, and subsequently many others in the same cause, yielded up their lives amid such tortures as cannot be conceived except by enduring them; and there, with their blood, gave vitality to the then feeble existence of that Reformation which was eventually to secure to this land and the world the blessings of religious liberty. In every quarter of the overgrown city that now surrounds this hallowed place, are to be seen mementos erected to the memory of statesmen, warriors, scholars, and philanthropists; but no tall shaft, or even humbler cenotaph, directs the curious visitor or the anxious pilgrim to this spot, where scenes were enacted, at the memory of which humanity still shudders, but without which, perhaps, those great ones since thus honoured would have had no existence, or, at least, no such records as they now have upon the page of history. This neglect is unpardonable, on the part of Church or State, or both. The writer

* The accuracy of this statement will be seen by comparing the two Engravings here presented. The first represents the burning of Anne Askew, and two others, in 1546, and was originally published in 1563. It is a fac-simile, except being slightly reduced in size. It is the only one known that gives a view of Smithfield in connection with the burnings. The other shows the spot where the relics were discovered, and establishes its identity beyond question. In the subsequent sketch of modern Smithfield, the spires in the distance are those of St. Sepulchre's.

makes the assertion, without adding an argument to sustain it.

It certainly was rather a singular coincidence—if we receive Foxe's legend concerning Joan of Kent—that Rogers should be the very first to test, in his own person, the practical philosophy of the sentiment which he is reputed to have uttered when discussing her case, but it would by no means be safe, even then, to regard it, as that historian did, as a special retribution. It is to be presumed that Rogers would have been burned, on the 4th of February, 1555, even if she had not met a similar fate, on the same spot, nearly five years before. This circumstance is also referred to again, in order to correct a singular error of Mr. Anderson's, who states that no fire had been lighted in Smithfield, after the burning of Anne Askew, in 1546, until the day of Rogers' death. Joan of Kent was burned there, on the 2nd of May, 1550.

The effect of the Smithfield tragedy on the community at large, and especially in London, must have been very great, as it furnished a terrible proof that similar severities would be practised by the authorities. No one could know who would be the next victim, or how and when the savage thirst for blood would be satiated. Those then in apparent security had no certainty that they would not soon be also dragged from their families, to a speedy trial and summary execution. An atmosphere of horror must have enveloped the homes and hearts of those who still clung to their Bibles, and the religion which they taught. Still, the very firmness with which the Protomartyr had triumphed over his sufferings, and the even joyful readiness with which he met his death in defence of his faith, tended to confirm and strengthen them,

and we hear of but few defections on the part of those who had professed the Reformed religion—but these, sad to say, were chiefly among the preachers themselves. How much more numerous they would have been, had the first man faltered and turned his back upon the stake, God alone surely knows, but we may well believe that the records of the true Church would have come down to us under a different and darker aspect than they have done.

To the other condemned preachers still in prison, the news of Rogers' constancy came like a sudden burst of sunlight from a heavy cloud. If they had wavered under the doom that threatened them, they did so no longer. He had set them an example worthy of imitation, and, whither he had led the way, they could now more confidently follow. We find Bradford, in a letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, written four days after Rogers' death, rejoicing that their "dear brother" had "broken the ice valiantly." Ridley himself wrote to Austin Bernher, on the 10th of February, as follows: "I bless God with all my heart, in His manifold merciful gifts given unto our dear brethren in Christ, especially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleased Him to set forth first, no doubt but of His gracious goodness and fatherly favour towards him. . . . I trust to God it shall please Him, of his goodness, to strengthen me to make up the Trinity [i.e. himself, Rogers, and Bradford] out of Paul's Church, to suffer for Christ," &c. And again, Ridley writes thus to Bradford: "I thank our Lord God and Heavenly Father by Christ that, since I heard of our dear brother Rogers' departing, and stout confession of Christ and His Truth even unto the death, my heart, blessed be God! so rejoiced of it,

that, since that time, I say, I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before." This frank confession of former weakness, and as frank avowal of the renovating effect of Rogers' example, afford the best evidence that we can have of the importance attached to it by his fellow sufferers, and prove that the eminence which is now assigned him is one to which he was justly entitled. Hitherto, he has merely been regarded as but one among other great and good men of that time, and as only accidentally the First Martyr. We seem to have forgotten, or else never understood, that it required something more than a simply great and good man to be that First Martyr. There were others, bearing that reputation, who ignobly fled on the first approach of danger; and others still, who stood firm for a time, but shrank back when they drew nearer to the fire. Cranmer was a great and good man, but lacking, perhaps, only the necessary physical courage, it is very certain that he would never willingly have been the first to meet death at the stake. That Rogers accepted willingly, determinedly, cheerfully, all the responsibilities imposed upon him, his entire history convincingly proves. He did not accidentally, or by compulsion, meet his destiny, but embraced it voluntarily when he might have escaped it, and did so, not in a spirit of self-righteousness or reckless bravado, but impelled by an honest consciousness that he was obeying the will of his Almighty Father. It was, certainly, no earthly reward by which he was allured, for he well knew that the course he pursued must lead him inevitably to protracted suffering and an ignominious death.

One interesting incident must not be omitted, as it

serves to illustrate the effects of the teachings of his life, and the example of his death. John Leaf, a citizen's apprentice, only nineteen years of age, probably having rendered himself obnoxious by the exuberance of his youthful zeal, was arrested, and subjected to several examinations by Bonner, during which he resisted every inducement and threat that could be brought to bear upon him, and maintained, although unable to read or write, no unworthy argumentative contest with his judges. Being finally committed to prison, it was thought that he would there, in private, be more easily operated upon, and two papers were prepared and brought to him — one containing a full recantation, and the other a recapitulation of the professions which he had made at his public trials. After listening to the first one, he utterly refused to affix his mark to it; but on hearing the other, he seized a pin, thrust it into his hand, and sprinkling his blood over the paper, bade those present witness his sign-manual. On being asked if he had not been one of Mr. Rogers' scholars, he promptly avowed that he had, and that he not only firmly believed all the doctrines which he had learned from him, but was also ready to meet the same death which his old master had already endured, in defence of the same faith. He was burned at the same time and place with Bradford, and manifested a cheerfulness and unshaken resolution that were remarkable in one so young, and which commanded the admiration of the beholders.

It is a little singular that, after all that has been said concerning Coverdale, it should be finally necessary to record the fact that Rogers was, at least indirectly, the means of saving his life. It is probable that all that rendered him obnoxious was the single circumstance

that he was a married priest — a fact that had served to increase the bitterness with which Rogers had been persecuted. The scandal was, also, infinitely greater in Coverdale's case than in that of Rogers, as he had been a monk, and of course had taken the vows of celibacy. The sister of Coverdale's wife had married the chaplain of the King of Denmark, who stood very high in the favour of that monarch, who, at his urgent request, was induced to intercede with Queen Mary that Coverdale might be permitted to depart from England. The Queen appears to have at first declined to comply with the King's appeal, but, upon a more peremptory demand being made, it was not deemed politic to hazard a second refusal to one whom she desired to retain as a powerful ally; and so, Coverdale and his wife were safe in Denmark, before the month that witnessed Rogers' execution had expired. Had it not appeared, from the developments in the case of Rogers, that his marriage constituted an additional and most weighty offence, and that, therefore, the position of Coverdale was rendered dangerous on that account, it is possible that the influence of the Danish King in his behalf would not have been so promptly and effectively exerted.

It is sad that we must leave the large and interesting family of the Martyr just where he left them on his way to Smithfield, but of their immediate movements there is no account. Of his devoted wife we never hear again, after her visit to his prison abode, which was probably on the day of his death, or of any of his children until they had arrived at manhood. Mr. Anderson says that they all returned together, at once, to Germany, but he gives us no authority for this assertion, nor can anything be discovered to corroborate it, and he probably only presumed it to be the case, from

the fact that Daniel, one of the sons, received his education partly at Wittenberg, their former residence. In those days, the difficulty and expense of such a journey must have been very great, and, as they had been, by the Martyr's forethought and patriotism, made lawful English subjects, and could have had no actual claim upon his old parishioners in Saxony, it seems hardly probable that they could have taken such a step, especially as it appears certain that at least six of the children were settled in England but a few years later. Of those who are most reasonably presumed to have been his immediate descendants, and who became in any way prominent, brief notices will be found in another portion of this volume. It is to be hoped that the present undertaking may awaken a spirit of research among such families as possess any traditions of their descent from the Martyr, and that it may lead to discoveries and results to be embodied in a future edition.*

* The writer is aware that it is no uncommon thing to see, even at this day, attached to obituary notices of persons of the name of Rogers, the words, "descended from the Martyr in Queen Mary's days," &c.; but he has yet to find more than one instance, for more than a century, where this assertion even appears well-founded. On the other hand, he has taken pains to investigate every case where the probabilities seemed in its favour, and has invariably traced the ancestry to some other family of the same name, or discovered that the claim was entirely unwarranted. He has collected a vast number of names and pedigrees, and does not speak without due care and research. He will be happy to receive any further particulars, and to answer any inquiries on the subject, that may be addressed to him to the care of the Publishers.

GENEALOGICAL RESEARCHES

RESPECTING

THE ANCESTORS AND DESCENDANTS

OF

JOHN ROGERS, THE MARTYR.

GENEALOGICAL RESEARCHES,

&c.

The exact date and place of birth of the Martyr are not yet positively ascertained. Some of the earlier writers speak of him as a Lancashire man, but evidently without any authority. Mr. Anderson, with but little more, and who relied entirely upon a statement of Wood, declared him to have been a native of Deritend, in Warwickshire, and the probable year of his birth about 1500.* The Messrs. Cooper distinctly affirm that he was born at that place about 1509.†

After a thorough research in every available quarter, and a careful examination of all the authorities, both public and private, at command, all that can at present be known, or reasonably presumed, in reference to his genealogy, will be found in the following pages. Especial attention has been paid to this subject, because there are very many in England, and many more in America, who proudly claim their descent from him,

* Annals of the English Bible, by Christopher Anderson, vol. ii. p. 286.

† Athenæ Cantabrigienses, vol. i.

and who will be glad to know with what reason and upon what grounds such claims are based. It is much to be feared that a large number, especially in the latter country, will be compelled to abandon the pleasing tradition which they have so long cherished, and resign all hope of commencing their pedigrees with the name of the Smithfield sufferer.

The first authentic information concerning him is that he was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1525. Lewis also says that he was chosen from thence, during the same year, to the Cardinal's College, at Oxford, of which he was made a junior canon.* It is well known that students in those times often entered the Universities at a very early age, but it can hardly be imagined that Rogers took even a single degree, and became a junior canon, when only sixteen years old, which must have been the case, if the Messrs. Coopers' assumption is correct. Mr. Anderson is more likely to be right, and, for all practical purposes, it will be safe to presume that he was born between the years 1500 and 1505, and probably at Deritend, although it is possible that his father did not reside there until after his birth. The records of both Universities give no information beyond the bare facts above mentioned.

There are in the British Museum two MS. Pedigrees, upon which we must primarily rely in our endeavours to establish his identity. The first is contained in a volume† bearing this title, viz. "The Visitation of the County of Warwick, made in Anno 1563, by Robert Cooke, Chester Herald, for William Hervey,

* History of the Translations of the Bible, by Rev. John Lewis, 1818, p. 223.

† Harleian MS. 1563, fol. 19 *b*.

Clarenceux: continued and enlarged, with another Visitation of the same County, made in Anno 1619, by Sampson Leonard, Blue Mantle, and Augustine Vincent, Rouge Rose, Officers of Arms and Deputies to William Camden, Clarenceux." This Pedigree commences with one "Rogers," who had two sons, viz.: Nicholas, who had issue William; and "John Rogers, of Deritend," in the parish of Aston, County of Warwick, who married Margery Wyatt. This John Rogers had three sons and two daughters, as follows: 1. *John*, who married "Adryan Pratt, of Brabant;" 2. William; 3. Edward; 4. Ellenor, who married Robert Mylward, of Alnechurch, County of Worcester; and, 6. Joan, also married, but the name of whose husband is not stated. The children of "John Rogers and Adryan Pratt" are given thus: 1. Daniel, of Sunbury, County of Middlesex, Clerk of the Council to Queen Elizabeth (ob. 1591), who married Susan, daughter of Nicasius Yetsworth, Clerk of the Signet, and Secretary for the French tongue; 2. John, a Proctor of the Civil Law, who married Mary, daughter of William Leete, of Everden, County of Cambridge, D.C.L.; 3. Ambrose; 4. Samuel; 5. Philip; 6. Bernard; 7. Augustine; 8. Barnaby; 9. Susan, who married John Short, Merchant, of London; 10. Elizabeth, who married James Proctor, Chancellor of Salisbury; and, 11. Hester, who married Henry Ball, Physician. The children of Daniel Rogers, of Sunbury, are Francis, and a daughter named Posthuma. The children of John and Mary Rogers are Cassandra, Elizabeth, Heckuba, Constantine, John, Edward, Mary, and Varro (a son).

The volume containing the other Pedigree * has this

* Harleian MS. 1551, fol. 59 *b*.

† See N.E. Hist. & Gen. Register 44:301

original endorsement on the first page, viz. "In this book [are] Collections of Descents and Arms of the Gentry in Middlesex, whereof was no Visitation General of the same County before that made [A.D. 1634] by Sir Henry St. George, Richmond Herald, Deputy to his father [Sir Richard St. George], then Clarenceux; except seven Descents [which] are entered in the old Visitation of Hertfordshire: . . . . all the rest are the collections of me, Richard Mundy." * This Pedigree follows the former one very closely, but has the following very important additions, viz:—1. The progenitor of the family is called "Rogers, of Sutton Vallens, in Kent;" 2. John Rogers, who married Adryan Pratt, is said to be of Birmingham, County of Warwick; and, 3. Francis, the son of Daniel Rogers, of Sunbury, is stated to have married a daughter of —— Cory, and to have a son, also named Francis, while his sister Posthuma was married to —— Spears.

The arms given in both MSS. are precisely alike, viz. Argent; a chevron sable, between three stags statant sable; a crescent for difference or: crest, a stag's head sable, issuant from a ducal coronet or.

The variations and additions in the Pedigrees arise, evidently, from the fact that John Rogers, described as Proctor of the Civil Law, represented the family in the County of Warwick, at the time of the Visitation in 1619, and therefore his children were particularly enumerated; while Francis Rogers, son of Daniel of Sunbury, was the head of the branch in Middlesex, in

* These two MSS. are thus particularly described, because it has been alleged, by certain American objectors, that these and similar documents are of modern origin, and have been manufactured for the occasion. To the English public, and to all who are acquainted with the character of the Harleian and other MSS. at the British Museum, this suggestion will appear simply ridiculous.

1634, and his marriage and paternity were accordingly recorded. The placing John Rogers (who married Adryan Pratt) at Birmingham, which might lead to some doubt as to his identity with the Martyr, is easily accounted for by the fact that Deritend, his father's residence, was a mere hamlet in the suburbs of that city, whose name Mr. Mundy probably used as a generic one for the whole neighbourhood.

The absence of dates and other particulars, in these and similar records of those times, is much to be lamented, and it will be perceived that, in the present instance, the solution of the question, whether these are the pedigrees of the Martyr's family, will depend mainly upon our ability to identify the Daniel Rogers mentioned, as his son. Singularly enough, while those now living who claim descent from the Martyr, even in the tenth and eleventh generations, are proud even of the probability, and ready to make any sacrifice to establish it as a fact, his immediate descendants, or those presumed to have been such, never directly referred to him as their ancestor, in any of their letters or published works, or, at least, in any that we now possess. Whether their silence on the subject arose from some natural modesty, or from a morbid desire not to perpetuate the memory of their connection with one who had met with such a fate, it is, for the purposes of history, equally to be regretted. We are therefore left to determine the question by such internal and extraneous evidence as we may be able to discover, and fortunately a satisfactory amount of this does not appear to be wanting.

From Foxe we know that the Martyr had a son named Daniel, who was the means of discovering the records of his examinations and other writings which he had concealed in his cell at Newgate. That historian

mentions him as one of his sons, and he was not necessarily the eldest, as is usually imagined. One of the Pedigrees mentioned would seem to indicate that he was the fifth child, the three daughters and a son Ambrose * preceding him. The other distinctly calls him the eldest son. This is, however, a matter of little importance.

Wood's account of the Ambassador Daniel Rogers contains, like most of his statements, a combination of facts, mere presumptions, and absolute errors. We have his testimony that he was the son of John Rogers (by his wife "Adriana Pratt, *alias* De Weyden"), who was the son of John Rogers of Deritend — that he was educated partly abroad and partly at Oxford, at which latter place he was admitted B.A. July 18th, 1561, and licensed to proceed in the same faculty on the 1st of August following — that he married Susan, the daughter of Nicasius Yetswiert — that he became one of the Clerks of the Council in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and was repeatedly employed by her in embassies abroad — that he was a very good man, an excellent scholar, and a most accomplished gentleman of his time — and, especially, that in some of his writings he added "Albimontanus" to his name.† These are all, undoubtedly, facts. Wood also says that, at Queen Mary's accession, being then about thirteen years of age, he went with his father beyond the seas, for religion's sake, and settled at Frankfort, where he pursued his education, &c., returning to England in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. There is no reference whatever to such

* The Will of Daniel Rogers, preserved at Doctors' Commons, describes Ambrose as his *youngest* brother, and of course is authoritative on this point.

† Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i. col. 569, &c.

important domestic events in any of his writings, and Wood evidently confounded his father with Sir Edward Rogers, of Cannington, who did flee to the continent during Queen Mary's reign, to avoid persecution, and who became subsequently one of Elizabeth's Privy Council and Comptroller of her household.

On the other hand, Strype, who had the MSS. of the Ambassador in his possession, and other means of information at his command, in one of his earlier works * presumes him to have been a son of the Martyr, and in a subsequent one † positively affirms it to have been the case.

The internal evidences to be at present offered in substantiation of this presumption are these: —

1. His addition of "Albimontanus" to his name was evidently intended to indicate his birth in Germany.

2. In one of his despatches to Lord Burghley ‡, dated November 15th, 1584, he mentions a friend who had been his school-fellow under Melancthon, at Wittenberg, twenty-seven years before. The Martyr had been for about ten years the pastor of a congregation at Wittenberg, where most of his children were born; and it has been thought by some that his family were invited back to the care and protection of the people among whom he had so faithfully ministered, and that, as Melancthon and Rogers were warm personal friends, nothing would have been more natural than that the former should charge himself with the education of, at least, one of the sons of the latter. The improbability, however, is elsewhere stated that the widow and all her children did return to Germany; but it is not unreason-

* Life of Whitgift, Oxford, 1822, p. 443.

† Annals of the Reformation, Oxford, 1824, vol. iii. part i. p. 394.

‡ Lansdowne MS. 42, fol. 168.

able to suppose that Melancthon and other friends at Wittenberg assumed the care and instruction of one of the sons, and thus the presence of Daniel there may be accounted for. The twenty-seven years before, of which Daniel Rogers speaks, would have made the date, when he and his friend were school-fellows under Melancthon, the year 1557, only two years after the Martyr's death, and precisely the time when his son should have been at Wittenberg, according to the above presumption.

3. On the seal, still attached to this original letter of Daniel Rogers, may be distinctly traced the impression of the arms given in the two Pedigrees mentioned, and which are the same (with but occasional trifling variations) borne from the earliest period to the present time by every family which, with any traditional authority, claims descent from the Martyr. These arms were also originally engraved on the tombstone of Daniel Rogers, in the church at Sunbury, where he was buried.*

4. In one of the volumes of the MSS. of Foxe, in the British Museum†, are two letters (in Latin) from himself to Daniel Rogers the Ambassador, written at a time when the historian was in great distress concerning his son, in reply to others from Rogers tendering his sympathy and assistance. Foxe addresses him as the most beloved of his friends, and in one place uses this significant language: "Go on, then, O my Rogers, in the virtue which you would seem to have derived (or imbibed), not from the books of the philosophers, but from *the paternal imprint.*" The allusion appears trifling, it is true, and might have been made by a thousand men to a thousand others; but this peculiar

* Speculum Britanniæ, Middlesex, by John Norden, 1593, p. 40.

† Harleian MS. 417, fol. 104 and 117.

expression being used by the biographer of this particular father, and addressed to his son, it would seem to possess, in this instance, an especial value.

It only remains to say, as the result of this somewhat negative evidence, that, with the certainty that the Martyr did marry his wife at Antwerp, about 1537, it would be most extraordinary if there had been two persons of the name of John Rogers living about the same time; both marrying in Brabant; both afterwards flying to the continent to escape the Marian persecutions; both having sons of about the same age named Daniel; and that both of these sons should have been educated under Melancthon at Wittenberg. It is also certain that there were not two Ambassadors of that name, in Elizabeth's reign.

As another proof of the identity and authenticity of the two Pedigrees before mentioned, the following is not unworthy of notice. In a letter of Daniel Rogers to the Earl of Leicester*, dated December 12th, 1576, he commends the bearer to his Lordship as his brother. In another document†, being a journal of his proceedings in Holland, from June to December, 1575, he again refers to his brother as being connected with him in certain business with the Government. Among the State Papers is preserved a letter from William Villers to Laurence Thomson ‡, dated June 22nd, 1575, in which he complains that a certain position, which he was to have occupied in some negotiation in the Low Countries, had been given to a brother of Mr. Rogers the Ambassador. In still another record at the British Museum §, one of the parties named as a Commissioner of Queen Elizabeth, in certain negotiations in

* Cotton MS. Galba, C. 5, fol. 342. † Ibid. fol. 153 *b*.
‡ Dom. Eliz. vol. ciii. No. 62. § Cotton MS., Nero, B. 3, fol. 337.

Denmark, is "Johannes Rogers, Jurisconsultus," and evidently the same person spoken of in the last two. It certainly cannot be assuming too much, if we identify him with the John Rogers named in the Pedigrees as a brother of Daniel, and described as a "Proctor of the Civil Law." *

The passage referred to in the first letter above mentioned is as follows: "The bearer is my brother, and therefore a most humble servant unto your Lordship. He travelleth into Ireland, to recover certain debts there due unto him and his partners. It may please your Lordship to stand his good Lord, in furthering him with your Lordship's favourable letter unto my Lord Deputy, for the better and speedier obtaining of justice." This extract would hardly seem to indicate his brother John, who was bred to the law, but rather to another who was engaged in some commercial business. But, as usual, the Christian name is unfortunately omitted. It is, however, probably supplied by still another MS.†, dated June 25th, 1575, also concerning commercial transactions, where the "Commissioner Daniel" is spoken of in connection with his "brother Philip." Daniel Rogers, in his Will, also mentions his youngest brother Ambrose as then living, in 1591.

If, therefore, we are able thus to identify four of the Martyr's sons, it is fair to presume that the names of the other children are also correctly given; and hence, if these Pedigrees are to be relied upon, we have not

* In eight old MS. pedigrees of the family of Leete, into which he married, he is called "*Doctor* of the Civil Law," and in only one is he styled "*Proctor:*" the latter was, therefore, probably a clerical error, or was written before he had taken the higher degree. In the Will of Daniel Rogers, he is also described as "Doctor of the Civil Law."

† State Paper Office, "Conway Papers," No. 222.

only the Christian name of the Martyr's father, but also those of all his children, some of his grandchildren, and even of one great-grandson.

Just here it may be as well to notice the discrepancies among various writers in reference to the Martyr's children, some of whom say that they numbered only nine, others ten, and others still eleven. Foxe, who should have known, as he appears to have been intimately acquainted with the family, and the first edition of his work was published only eight years after the Martyr's death, distinctly says *eleven*, as do most of the older writers. More modern ones unhesitatingly reject his statement, and insist upon only *ten;* basing their assertion on the declaration of the Martyr himself to the Lord Chancellor, and also on the usually reasonable presumption that a father ought best to know the number of his children. It is evident, however, that Rogers did not know. At the very time when Foxe wrote, with such minuteness, that "his wife and children, being *eleven* in number—*ten* able to go, *and one* sucking on her breast—met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield," he had before him (as he asserts), in his own writing, the account of his appeal to Gardiner that his wife might be suffered to come and speak with him, in which he states that "she hath *ten* children which are hers and mine." It is difficult to believe that Foxe would have intentionally created such a discrepancy. Rogers wrote what he had said to the Lord Chancellor, and Foxe permitted it to remain as he wrote it, but corrected the error when he came to close the narration of his history, and with such particularity of detail that there can be no doubt that he did so purposely. The explanation of the difference between the statements of

Rogers and Foxe, which occur within a page or two of each other, is perfectly simple. He was confined a year in Newgate, during the most of which time, as has been shown, he was prohibited from all intercourse with his family and friends. In his posthumous writings, he mentions the approaching maternity of his wife, at as late a date as Christmas, 1553. On the 27th of January, 1554, only about four weeks afterwards, he was removed to Newgate; after which, the probability is that he neither saw or was allowed to receive any tidings of his family, until they had their hurried and momentary interview when they met him on his way to Smithfield. Doubtless he then recognised the eleventh child, which he saw for the first time on its mother's breast, and which had been born without his knowledge during his confinement; but it was then too late for him to alter his record, in which he had mentioned the ten only of whose existence he positively knew. The two Pedigrees in question confirm the statement of Foxe, and thus furnish another very important link in the chain of internal evidence affecting their authenticity.

Having thus established, perhaps as clearly as it will ever be possible to do, the identity of the Martyr with John Rogers, the son of John Rogers of Deritend, it will be interesting to learn something of his ancestors.

Among the Visitations of Dorsetshire, and other genealogical MSS., in the British Museum and elsewhere, dated 1565, 1612, and 1623, are several, varying in detail, but generally agreeing in the following lineage:—

1. John Fitz-Roger, who married a daughter of Sir Simon Furneup, descended from the Earls of Bush.

2. Sir John Fitz-Roger (or John Rogers), whose second wife was Anne, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Etchingham, and widow of Dr. Audley.
3. Sir Henry Fitz-Roger (or Henry Rogers) of Bryanstone, who married Avice (or Amy), daughter of William, Lord Stourton (who died in 1477).
4. Thomas Rogers — who appears to have had two elder brothers, viz. Sir John Rogers of Bryanston (who died in 1500), and James, a Doctor of Divinity; and also a younger brother, Richard.

This is supposed to be the Thomas Rogers who married Catharine, daughter of Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, County of Devon (who died in 1485), by his wife Margaret, daughter of Lord Bonville. If this be so, he is identical with him known as Thomas Rogers of Bradford, County of Wilts, who, with eight others, formed the call of Serjeants at Law, June 9th, 1477. He had two wives: 1st. Cecilia, daughter and co-heir of William Besyll of Bradford (one of the principal men in Wiltshire, in the time of Henry VI.), by whom he had one son, William, from whom is descended, among others, the family of Rogers of Rainscombe, County of Wilts, the present representative of which is Rev. Edward Henry Rogers. 2nd. Catharine Courtenay (as above), by whom he had two sons, viz.: George Rogers of Luppitt, County of Devon, from whom was descended Sir Edward Rogers of Cannington, County of Somerset, Comptroller of the Household and one of the Privy Council of Queen Elizabeth; and, continuing the above lineage,

5. John (or Thomas) Rogers of Sutton Vallens,

County of Kent, who appears to have been the first son by his second wife. This John (or Thomas) Rogers, or possibly a son of his, was doubtless the "Rogers of Sutton Vallens," the progenitor of the family described in the first two Pedigrees discussed in these pages, and the father of

6 or 7. John Rogers of Deritend, the father of

7 or 8. John Rogers, the Martyr.

The arms of Thomas Rogers of Bradford are nearly identical with those of John Rogers of Deritend — the variations being such trifling ones as usually occur in different branches of the same family. It must be said that they are entirely at variance with those of Sir John Rogers of Bryanston, which bore a fleur-de-lis and a mullet; but this may be accounted for on the presumption that, from some cause now unknown, and being a younger branch of that family, he assumed peculiar arms of his own* — an occurrence by no means uncommon.

Pursuing the maternal ancestry of the Martyr, we find that Sir William Courtenay, the father of the second wife of Thomas Rogers of Bradford, was the eldest son of Sir Philip Courtenay (who died in 1463), by Elizabeth, daughter of Walter, Lord Hungerford: Sir Philip was the eldest son of Sir John Courtenay (who died before 1415), by Joan (or Anne), daughter of Alexander Champernowne of Beer Ferrers, and widow of Sir James Chudleigh, Knt.: Sir John was the second son of Sir Philip Courtenay, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (who died July 7th, 1406), by Margaret (or

* A document in the possession of the family of Rogers of Rainscombe states that he did assume these arms, at the time when he married into the family of Besyll of Wiltshire.

Anne), daughter of Sir Thomas Wake of Blisworth, County of Northampton: Sir Philip was the fifth son of Hugh de Courtenay, second of that name Earl of Devon (who died in 1377), by the Lady Margaret de Bohun (who died December 16th, 1392): Lady Margaret was the second daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, fifth Earl of Hereford and third of Essex, Lord High Constable (who was slain at Borough Bridge in 1321), by the Princess Elizabeth Plantagenet, sixth daughter of Edward I., by Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand, King of Castile.

It will probably satisfy most of the present generation to trace their ancestry back thus far, but if there are any who desire to go still farther, they may be gratified to know that they may do so, from Edward I. through Henry III., John, Henry II., Henry I., and William the Conqueror, even to Charlemagne. The great majority, however, will overlook the fact that the blood of Kings (although by this time greatly diluted) flows in their veins, and be proud of their lineage only as it embraces the simple man with the humble name—John Rogers—who, obscure as his personal history has been and still is, probably did more for the cause of Christianity in England than any other single man who ever lived.

Assuming the foregoing genealogy to be correct, another singular state of things is presented in the fact that we know more of the ancestry of the Martyr than we do of his posterity. The entire absence of anything like certain data respecting so large a number of children, who must, in all probability, have had numerous descendants, is and must remain a historical mystery. Even as to those who appear to have the best claims to be considered his immediate descendants,

nothing certain is known. None of their letters remaining contain the slightest reference to the fact—none of their biographies, although written contemporaneously, or at periods when the truth must have been known, furnish the slightest hint by which any such conclusion can be drawn — and even their tombstones (except in a single instance) are silent on the subject. It would almost seem as though, by common consent, they had combined to ignore their paternity, and regarded the fact that their ancestor had perished under the execution of infamous laws as a species of family disgrace. In the published writings of some of them, there are frequent references to other martyrs of his time, but to him only in rare instances, and then as if he was no more to them than any of the others. This ostracism of one, whose memory the whole Christian Church respected, may have been deemed a modest abnegation, by those who did not wish to even seem to boast of their ancestry, but it is certainly very remarkable, and has proved, historically, very unfortunate.

Of four of the sons and the three daughters we have no knowledge, except that, according to the Pedigrees, the latter all married in England.* There is little doubt that many of their posterity still live, or that they were the progenitors of those families which

* The writer has been unable to discover any trace of the three daughters, after their respective marriages. James Proctor, named as the husband of Elizabeth, and represented as Chancellor of Salisbury, does not appear in that capacity in the records of that Cathedral. One of the same name occurs as Archdeacon of Dorset, Diocese of Salisbury, in 1533, but he had resigned before 1537, and, in 1543, the Archdeaconry was transferred to the See of Bristol. Elizabeth Rogers could hardly have been marriageable before 1560, when this James Proctor must have been advanced in years, and it seems quite improbable that he should have been the one indicated. — *Dodsworth's History of Salisbury Cathedral*, 1814, p. 239.

have preserved unimpeached the traditions of their fathers. It is equally probable that all those families, which rightfully bear the peculiar arms before described, are descendants from Thomas Rogers of Bradford, but by no means certain that they can claim a direct descent from the Martyr. Future discoveries may justify them in insisting upon such claims, but at present they cannot do so with any degree of confidence.

Daniel Rogers, the eldest son of the Martyr, as appears by his Will, had only the two children already named. As has been seen, his daughter (who was a posthumous child) married —— Spears; and his son Francis married a daughter of —— Cory, by whom he had a son, also named Francis. Here all trace of them is lost.

The same may be said of the eight children of John Rogers, the "Proctor of the Civil Law," with a single exception. Berry* states that Henry Saris, son and heir of Thomas Saris of Horsham (who was buried in the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft, London, in 1588), married Cassandra Rogers. They had two sons. The first is not named, and appears to have died early. The second son and heir was named Edward Saris, and was subsequently of Billingshurst, county of Sussex. He married Mary, daughter of John Clarke of Chiltington, county of Sussex, and their only child, Mary, was not a year old in 1634, the date of the Visitation. The dates above given, and the rareness of the name—*Cassandra*—would seem sufficiently to indicate, at least, the extreme probability that she was the daughter of John Rogers, the Proctor, and grand-daughter of the Martyr.

At this point everything approximating to certainty ceases. All beyond, with perhaps two or three excep-

* County Genealogies—Sussex, p. 149.

tions, is vague and indistinct. In many cases, perhaps only a solitary link is wanting to connect other eminent men directly with the Martyr, but the absence of that connecting link creates an hiatus too positive to be bridged over by mere possibilities.

But, if we cannot determine positively who are or were his descendants, we may perhaps be able to ascertain who are and were not such, among those for whom such an interesting honour has been claimed. We will commence with the most prominent case, that of Rev. Richard Rogers of Weathersfield, concerning which the evidence is of a somewhat singular character. In none of his own writings, nor in any of the biographies of him, either contemporaneous or otherwise, is it asserted that he was a son of the Martyr. The same profound silence elsewhere described is preserved in his case, and yet modern generations have unhesitatingly adopted the hypothesis that he was such.

As the identity of the Martyr himself depended, a few pages back, upon his son Daniel, so does that of Richard Rogers, to a great extent, upon his daughter Mary. Bliss, speaking of Rev. William Jenkyn, the younger, says that "his mother was a grand-daughter of John Rogers, the Martyr."* Kennett and Calamy both say that Rev. William Jenkyn, the elder, was Minister at Sudbury, in Suffolk, and there married "a grand-daughter of the Martyr."† What testimony either of them possessed that led them to make this assertion is not known, but perhaps only the fact that he had been educated under Richard Rogers of

* Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii. col. 646.

† Bishop Kennett's Register and Chronicle, 1728, p. 792; Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's History, 1713, Account, p. 17.

Weathersfield, and subsequently married his daughter. His name, however, is not mentioned in any case, but the declaration is, plainly and unequivocally, that Jenkyn's wife was the Martyr's grand-child. If these statements are to be credited, the question is settled at once, for the wife of Jenkyn certainly was the daughter of Richard Rogers of Weathersfield. The later descendants of Jenkyn, through every generation, insisted upon their title to claim the Martyr as their ancestor, and even preserved, to the last one, what they alleged to be an original portrait of him, which has been handed down as a sacred relic. But if this be the case, what is to be done with the two Pedigrees which, it is claimed, are the authentic records of the Martyr's immediate family? In neither of them does the name of Richard appear. Must we abandon those records, or, on the other hand, deny to the venerated pastor of Weathersfield that paternity which has been so positively assigned him? There can be evidently but one of two conclusions to adopt; either that, for some unknown reason, he changed his name, or else that the world has, in common with the Jenkyn family, accepted an ill-founded tradition for direct evidence. For the first suggestion, no sufficient motive can be conceived; but as to the second, the probabilities are all in its favour.

Hitherto, the dates of the birth and death of Richard Rogers have been involved in mystery, most writers contenting themselves with the mere statement that he was still living, at an advanced age, in 1612 or 1615. The writer has, however, discovered an authentic copy of the inscription on his tombstone, transcribed in the year 1826, before it had been finally effaced by the combined action of the atmosphere and juvenile vandalism; from which it appears that his death occurred

on the 21st of April, 1618, and that he was then in the sixty-eighth year of his age.* He was born, therefore, in the year 1550, or early in 1551. The Martyr returned to England in 1548, bringing with him eight children who were born in Germany, and three more were born subsequently. So far as the mere question of time is concerned, he might have been one of the latter, but other evidences are not so favourable to such a presumption.

Mr. Brook states that, while writing his account of Richard Rogers, he had before him certain MSS., one of which appears to have been that clergyman's private diary, from which he gives several extracts, evidently authentic.† It would be very strange, almost incredible, if, in the progress of such a personal record, he had not made some decided reference to his father, if he had occupied such a position in the world, and especially in the history of the Church, as did the Martyr; and still more strange and incredible, if Mr. Brook had not greedily seized upon it, in order to determine a disputed question so interesting. That author evidently found nothing in the diary to justify such a presumption, but probably the reverse, as he was the first writer of any note, for nearly a century, who omitted in his biography of Richard Rogers the stereotyped assertion of his filial connection with the Martyr — an omission that must have been intentional, and that is full of meaning.

Again, Rev. Thomas Cawton, the younger, who published, in 1662, a biography of his father, who married Elizabeth Jenkyn — the undoubted grand-child of Richard Rogers, — in referring to that marriage, uses the following significant language: — "He was offered

* Congregational Magazine, New Series, April, 1826, vol. ii. p. 183.

† Lives of the Puritans, 1813, vol. ii. p. 231, &c.

many great matches, but none so good as that which he pitched upon, which was Mrs. Elizabeth Jenkyn, daughter to the Reverend Mr. William Jenkyn, a renowned preacher in Sudbury, and grand-child to the famous Mr. Richard Rogers, of Weathersfield. He preferred the *stock* she came of, her religious education, parts, and eminent piety, before a great portion, which he might have had with others." *

The question naturally arises, why so particular to boast of the father and the grandfather, and omit the great-grandfather, whose character and history possessed infinitely greater prominence and importance?

But again, on the death of Rev. Thomas Cawton, the younger, in 1677, a sermon was preached by Mr. Nathaniel Vincent, his fellow labourer and intimate friend, at the close of which, in recounting the personal history of the deceased, he used the following still more significant language: —

"I begin with his *extraction.* He was of a *stock* eminent for Godliness in the greatest strictness and power; and to be born of those who are born of God is more honourable and advantageous than to come of the blood of nobles. If the righteous man be more excellent than his neighbour, how excellent was this man's *parentage!* His father was a prophet, eminent for holiness and learning, and his grandfather [i. e. great-grandfather] was the famous Mr. Rogers, the author of the Seven Treatises — than whom, it may be truly said, England hardly ever brought forth a man that walked more closely with God.† Let the Papists be silent, and forbear reproaching Protestant ministers

* Life, &c. of Thomas Cawton, 1662, p. 22.

† This sentence has been improperly attributed to Bishop Kennett, who only quoted it from this discourse.

for marrying, as if their children never come to good. Behold a *grandfather*, *father*, *and son*, all sincerely holy and able ministers of the New Testament."*

Why, it may be asked again, in this proud laudation of the lineage of his subject, stop short of the man who reflected infinitely greater glory upon his profession than all the others combined, and between whom (as is alleged) there was no intervening link? Surely, at that date the truth must have been known, and, in both these instances, the writers would as certainly have displayed the connection with the Martyr, with equal if not greater earnestness, had any existed.

But to set the question, as it would seem, for ever at rest, let us refer to still another name, and the history of another person, at one time of considerable eminence. In a notice of Rev. John Jortin, D.D., published in the octavo edition of the Biographical Dictionary, in 1784, and which was written by Rev. Dr. Heathcote, the mother of Jortin is described as "Martha Rogers, of an ancient and respectable family in Bucks, which had produced some clergymen distinguished by their abilities and learning." In a more extended memoir of Jortin, by Rev. John Disney, D.D., published in 1792, that writer states that his mother was "the daughter of Rev. Daniel Rogers, of Haversham, in Bucks, who descended from a family of the same name that resided at Lees, near Chelmsford, in Essex." Mr. Nichols, in his Literary Anecdotes, repeats without alteration, in his edition of 1812, the account of Jortin which appeared originally in that of 1782, adding that both Heathcote and Disney based their articles on his, and also that he received his information

* Funeral Sermon on the death of Thomas Cawton (the younger): "Israel's Lamentation at the Death of a Prophet," 1677, p. 31.

concerning the family directly from Jortin's son. He says that Daniel Rogers, the father of Jortin's mother, was "descended from Mr. Rogers, Steward to one of the Earls of Warwick, whose residence was at Lees, near Chelmsford, in Essex, temp. Henry VIII." * Now, Dr. Jortin was born October 23rd, 1698. Rev. Daniel Rogers became Minister of Haversham, October 5th, 1665, and continued such until his death, which occurred June 5th, 1680. His father was also a Rev. Daniel Rogers, who had preceded him as Minister of Haversham, and he was the eldest son of Richard Rogers of Weathersfield; whose father, or grandfather, was evidently the Earl of Warwick's Steward mentioned by Nichols, and therefore the contemporary of John Rogers, the Martyr, and by no apparent possibility his father, for the Martyr himself was nearly fifty years of age at the death of Henry VIII.†

Confirmatory of the above, may be mentioned the fact that the elder Daniel Rogers dedicated two of his books, viz. his Practical Catechism and Matrimonial Honour, to the then Earl of Warwick, doubtless from respect for the family to which his ancestor had been attached. The writer may add that he has conversed with the last living representative of the

* Nichols' Literary Anecdotes, 1812, vol. ii. p. 556.

† There is a little mystery attached to this statement by Nichols, and also to be found in the Jortin family documents. History informs us that there was no Earl of Warwick during the reign of Henry VIII.; the last one preceding his accession — Edward Plantagenet — having been beheaded in 1499, when the Earldom was forfeited. The next Earl of Warwick was not created until 1547, in the time of Edward VI. The meaning of the sentence probably is, that the residence of Mr. Rogers, Steward of the former Earl, was at Lees. Even the possibility of identifying him with the Martyr's father is thus destroyed, for the two Pedigrees upon which we are relying establish the family in Warwickshire for several generations.

Jortin family,—who is, he believes, also the last living representative (although not a lineal descendant) of the family of Richard Rogers of Weathersfield, — by whose permission he has examined the family documents, and is able to say that they confirm, in every particular, the account of the origin of those families, as stated by Nichols. She also declares that she never heard of any tradition in the Jortin family that it was descended from, or in any way connected with, the Martyr. Dr. Jortin was a man who would have been proud of such an ancestor,—for his own father was a French religious refugee,—and would certainly have bequeathed the knowledge of the fact to his children, had any such connection existed. It appears that he left a MS. account of the Rogers family from which he descended, but it is not now to be found.

Here, then, we have the explanation of the hitherto unaccountable silence of Richard Rogers and his immediate descendants respecting any relationship to the Martyr. They never claimed him as their progenitor, nor did their contemporary biographers do so for them, for the simple and only reason — that he was not. The evident error under which we have so long been labouring, in reference to this case, was first propagated in England by Calamy. In the first edition of his Abridgment of Baxter's History, published in 1702, he makes no reference to the marriage of William Jenkyn, but in the next one, of 1713, he declares that he married "the grand-daughter of Mr. John Rogers, the Proto-martyr." Doubtless, the presumption had already acquired ground, and he heedlessly adopted it; while subsequent writers have merely quoted from him, without taking the trouble to investigate his accuracy.

For all the reasons stated, and because his name does not appear in the Pedigrees described, we need have little hesitation in adopting the conclusion, that Richard Rogers of Weathersfield was possibly a relative, but certainly not a son of the Martyr.

The case of Rev. John Rogers, of Dedham — another famous Puritan preacher of Essex — next demands our attention. It is intimately connected with that of Richard Rogers, and the same reasons and arguments are applicable to both. He has so long been supposed to have been a grandson of the Martyr, that, especially in New England, where his descendants are very numerous, it will be deemed little less than heresy, when it is said that there is no reasonable ground for supposing that he occupied that relation. He also was the author of several published works, and MSS. of his were extant at the time when authentic histories were written, but nowhere do either he or his contemporaneous biographers refer, in the most distant manner, to such a connection. This silence did not arise from want of proper opportunity, for, in a little book of his called "The Doctrine of Faith," a second edition of which was published in 1627, he makes several apt references to the martyrs, sometimes mentioning their names, but never that of his reputed grandfather. One omission is so striking that it is important to quote the entire paragraph. Speaking of the power of faith, he says: —

"It caused the mother to send away her child, that morning, to another nurse, when she was to go to execution; and another to stand by and see her child grievously tortured, saying, 'I never held child better bestowed,' and thanking God that ever she bare him; and to forsake them cheerfully, as did Dr. Taylor,

and Cuthbert Simpson, who, seeing his wife and children in the way as he was going to the stake, and feeling some yearning of bowels, rebuked himself, saying, 'Ah flesh! wouldst thou hinder me in my journey? Well, go to! thou shalt not prevail.' It made the martyrs endure torments, and to neglect father, mother, wife, child, to follow Christ," &c. *

Is it not remarkable that he should thus have selected one of the least prominent among the martyrs, to illustrate an important point in his discourse, when he could not have forgotten that the first one of all also met his wife and children by the way, and still went on to the stake? How easy would it have been, and how very natural, for him to have introduced, just in that place, the name of his own grandfather, had the fact justified him in so doing!

But he claims no such ancestry himself, nor does any one do so for him, until the time of Hutchinson, whose History of the Colony of Massachusetts was first published, in London, about 1760. That historian, noticing the death of Nathaniel Rogers, the celebrated New-England Divine, says that "he was the son of Mr. John Rogers, a celebrated Puritan preacher at Dedham, in England, *descended from the Protomartyr in Queen Mary's reign*," and quotes Hubbard as his authority for the entire paragraph.† Now, strangely enough, Hubbard says nothing of the kind, and in no place in his history gives the most distant hint of such a relationship to the Martyr. The relative value of the unsustained assertion of the one, and the

* The Doctrine of Faith, &c., by John Rogers, Preacher of God's Word at Dedham, in Essex, 2nd edition, 1627, pp. 263–4.

† Hutchinson's History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 2nd edition, 1765, vol. i. note, p. 190.

entire silence of the other, on this point, may be readily determined by the facts that Hutchinson wrote more than half a century after the occurrences he described, while Hubbard was not only a contemporary, personally acquainted with Nathaniel Rogers, but had married his daughter, and therefore possessed every inducement to boast of such a pedigree, if he could have truthfully done so. Hutchinson probably intended to quote Hubbard correctly, and did so as far as the paragraph relates to the death of Nathaniel Rogers *, but he had evidently accepted the common rumour, carelessly added it to the sentence, and made Hubbard responsible for the whole. Thus, between him and Calamy, the error was propagated in both countries, and has been perpetuated by the desire on the part of the descendants of John and Nathaniel Rogers to claim an ancestry so distinguished.†

* See reprint of Hubbard's History of New England, among the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. vi. p. 554; and also Savage's Note, in Winthrop's History of New England, reprint of 1853, vol i. p. 244.

† To show to what extent, in some instances, this anxiety has reached, and how baseless are often the claims to a descent from the Martyr, the following circumstance presents a fair illustration. Through a reference in an early volume of Notes and Queries, the writer learned of the existence of an alleged original oil portrait of the Martyr, then in the possession of a lady residing on the Dorsetshire coast, who also claimed to be one of his lineal descendants. From the lapse of time, the endeavour to discover the identity of this lady was attended with much difficulty, but was at last successful. She had died at an advanced age some years ago, and all her possessions were in the hands of her residuary legatee. He also was at length discovered, and the portrait and a mass of family documents found to be intact in his possession, which he most kindly placed at the writer's disposal. Not doubting, from the character and social position of the parties, the authenticity of both the portrait and the claim of descent, the writer was satisfied, for the time, with procuring from the present possessor the history of the former, leaving its personal inspection for a more convenient season. The lady was a direct descendant of Rev. William Jenkyn, and her pedigree clear enough. The

Mather, when writing the Magnalia, was not only intimate with the children of Nathaniel Rogers (the son of John Rogers of Dedham), but had in his possession his MSS., and some of his father's. He gives a most highly wrought account of both of them, yet does not once mention the name of the Martyr.*

Giles Firmin, who enjoyed the closest personal acquaintance with them both, and could not write too flatteringly concerning them — and who was also quite fond of referring to relationships, even in the most impracticable places in his writings — never suggests the possibility of such consanguinity. Surely, John Rogers of Dedham must have known whether or not the Martyr was his grandfather, and neither he or his son Nathaniel could have had any motive for concealing the fact. Hubbard and Firmin must also have known it, if it existed, and would, as certainly, have stated it somewhere. The conclusion is inevitable that there was no such connection.

The writer is aware that he will be met, especially in New England, with the assertions that John Rogers of Dedham was a nephew of Richard Rogers of Weathers-

portrait had come to her in the family succession, as an heir-loom, through several generations, and was even distinctly endorsed with the Martyr's name and history. Up to the hour of her death, she was as certain of its identity and authenticity as of her own existence. Proud of her ancestry, and revering the memory of the Martyr, nothing would so quickly have aroused her indignation as the expression of a doubt upon the subject. And yet, when the writer finally journeyed two hundred miles to see and take possession of this treasure, he found it, certainly, an authentic and excellent portrait, but unmistakably that of Richard Rogers of Weathersfield! The excellent lady had gone down to her grave, cherishing her delusion, and happy in it. It is only necessary to add that the papers which she left clearly show her descent from Richard Rogers, but not a step beyond him.

* Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana, London, 1702, book iii. chap. xiv. p. 104, &c. Life of Nathaniel Rogers.

field, and that John's son Nathaniel and Richard's son Ezekiel (who went to New England about the same time) were called cousins; but he has to reply that, after a careful examination of all the old writers, he has yet to see the line penned by them, wherein John is stated to have been other than a "relative" or "kinsman" of Richard; and also to remind the objectors that the word "cousin" has everywhere, and especially in New England, a most comprehensive signification, embracing even the remotest generations. Besides, Ezekiel Rogers, in his Will, uses very significant language decidedly averse to such a supposition. To give his precise words, — after leaving legacies to "my loving *nephew*, Mr. Samuel Stone" — "my *cousin*, his son John" — "my loving *niece*, Mrs. Mary Watosius" — "my loving *niece*, Mrs. Eliza Cawton" — and "my *cousin* Rogers, of Billerica," — as if purposely to intimate to curious genealogists of the present day that the next legatee enjoyed no such near relationship, he adds, — "Ezekiel Rogers, the son of Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, late Pastor of the Church of Ipswich, deceased." * Again, Giles Firmin, whose grandmother became the wife of Richard Rogers of Weathersfield, when recounting certain youthful indiscretions of John Rogers of Dedham, and the fact that he was supported at Cambridge by Richard, speaks of him, in two instances, simply as his "kinsman;" thus using a word which, in those times even more than now, represented a connection more distant than that of uncle and nephew, — and Firmin seems to have been particular elsewhere in designating exact relationships.† If, however, it could

* See a copy of this Will, in Rev. James Bradford's Address, contained in Gage's History of Rowley, Boston, 1840.

† See Giles Firmin's Real Christian, 1670, p. 75, &c.

be established that John Rogers of Dedham was the nephew of Richard Rogers of Weathersfield, which is the only ground on which his connection with the Martyr has ever been urged, then the descendants of the former would be deprived of their last hope, for it has already been shown conclusively that the latter was not a son of the Martyr.

It is necessary, before leaving this subject, to refer to what is known as the Candler MS., in the British Museum*, purporting to give the pedigrees of Richard Rogers of Weathersfield, and John Rogers of Dedham. The accounts in that document are greatly confused, the names being thrown together in the most unclerical manner, and some of them so placed that it is impossible to determine where they belong. At first, it would seem that Candler intended to represent John and Richard as brothers; but, as it appears impossible that such was the case, and as Candler must have known to the contrary, being a contemporary in their immediate neighbourhood, we must seek some other explanation. The probability is that he merely desired to place the two pedigrees upon the same page, and, through carelessness, or from some other cause, they became so inextricably blended, that the whole is rendered comparatively worthless. It would not be regarded as of the slightest authority, by any judicial tribunal. It does possess, however, a negative value of great importance. Candler must have *known* whether or not the Martyr was the father or grandfather of either, and would hardly have failed to state a fact so interesting, had such been the case; yet he gives their progenitor simply as "Rogers, of the North of England."

* Harleian MS. 6071, fol. 482.

The writer is sorry thus to be compelled to destroy the pleasing delusion in which the descendants of John Rogers of Dedham have so long indulged; but that numerous class (of which he is himself a member, and therefore a sharer in their disappointment) must learn to console themselves with the reflection and the assurance that, if their ancestor did not convey to them through his veins the blood of the Martyr, he was, nevertheless, one of the best and most venerated men of his times, whose memory is still cherished and revered by the wise and good. It is perhaps proper to add that there is the slightest possibility that he was a grandson of the Martyr, and still the kinsman of Richard Rogers, who was not a son. Both the Jenkyn and Jortin families, at least of the later generations, used the peculiar arms hitherto described, but with what authority cannot now be ascertained. The possibility, however, is so very slight, and the evidences to the contrary so numerous and overwhelming, that the writer has abandoned, although reluctantly, all hope of ever converting it into a reality.

One of the families before referred to, whose direct descent from the Martyr appears most probable, is that now represented by Sir Frederic Rogers, Bart., of Blachford, Devon.* This family traces its pedigree

* This Baronetcy, which is English, was created February 21st, 1699, and Sir Frederic Rogers is the eighth Baronet in succession. He is the eldest son of the seventh Baronet, by the daughter of the late Col. Charles Russell Deare, of the Bengal Artillery (now Dowager Lady Rogers). He was born in London, in 1811; married, in 1847, the daughter of Andrew Colville, Esq., of Ochiltree and Craigflower, N. B.; and succeeded his father in 1851. He was educated at Eton, and at Oriel College, Oxford, where he attained a double first class in 1832, a Craven University Scholarship, Oriel Fellowship, Vinerian Scholarship and Fellowship, &c.; and graduated M.A. in 1835, and B.C.L. in 1838. He is a Barrister, and was a Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioner.

back distinctly to Rev. Vincent Rogers, Minister of Stratford Bow, Middlesex, whose marriage, as appears by the register of that parish, took place in 1586.* It is asserted that he also was a son of the Martyr. The same difficulties exist in this case that presented themselves in that of Richard Rogers of Weathersfield, with, however, one favourable qualification. The name of Vincent certainly does not appear in the Pedigrees upon which we are now depending, neither did his immediate descendants,—his sons, Nehemiah, Vicar of Messing, in Essex, and Prebendary of Ely; and Timothy, Minister of Chappell, in Essex; and his grandson, John, a noted preacher and writer in the time of Cromwell; each of them the author of numerous published works still extant,— except in a single instance, make the most distant reference to the Martyr as their progenitor, in any of their writings, nor is the fact stated in any contemporary notices of them. The exception occurs in the Preface to one of the volumes of the latter, where he casually mentions his "most honoured *Predecessor*, Mr. John Rogers, Proto-martyr in cursed Queen Mary's days."† The real value of the

In 1857, he was appointed Assistant Commissioner for the sale of Encumbered Estates in the West Indies, and, in 1860, Permanent Under Secretary of State for the Colonies.—*Dod's Peerage, Baronetage, &c.*, 1861.

* Vincent Rogers was married October 25th, 1586, to Dorcas Young, a widow. Their eldest child, Ruth, was baptized July 23rd, 1587, at which date he was Minister of the chapel at Stratford Bow. Their second child, Timothy, was baptized March 30th, 1589, and their third, Nehemiah, was baptized October 20th, 1594, when he was still settled at that place. It has not been ascertained when his connection with that parish commenced and terminated, or what eventually became of him. Of his daughter, Ruth, there is no further information, but of his two sons, Timothy and Nehemiah, some account is given elsewhere, as also of his grandson, John, one of the sons of Nehemiah.

† See Preface to Sagrir, or Doomes-Day Drawing Nigh, &c., by John Rogers, 1654. A copy is preserved in the British Museum.

particular word there used cannot now be positively determined; but as, strictly speaking, all the martyrs preceded him, in the order of time, it would seem that he intended to indicate that the one specified occupied a more personal relation to him than did the others. Still, as he conceived himself to be, at the time he wrote this book, the subject of persecution, it is possible that the reference had properly only that meaning. It is proper, however, that the fact should be stated; for it is the only instance yet discovered, in all the writings, whether in print or in MS., of all persons of the name of Rogers, where even so much or so little as this is expressed.

On the other hand, the arms borne by this family are mainly the same as those traced in the two Pedigrees hitherto described*, and its traditions are of the strongest character. Sir John Rogers, the second Baronet, and fourth only in descent from Vincent, possessed such an unqualified conviction of the truth of his connection with the Martyr, that it was recorded as a fact upon his tombstone.† In such a case as this, where the arms borne from the earliest period are so nearly identical, and the tradition has been so positive from generation to generation, it would hardly be just

* The arms, &c., of this family are as follows: —

Arms: Argent, a chevron gules, between three roebucks courant sable, attired and gorged with ducal coronets or. Crest: on a mount vert, a roebuck courant, proper, attired and gorged with a ducal coronet or, between two branches of laurel vert. Motto: *Nos nostraque Deo.* —*Burke's Armory*, 1847.

† Sir John Rogers was buried at Cornwood, Devon, about 1742-3. The inscription was placed upon the wall of the church, and reads thus: — "To the pious memory of Sir John Rogers, Bart., whose body lies buried on the north side of this churchyard. *He was lineally descended from the learned and pious Dr. Rogers, who suffered martyrdom in Queen Mary's reign.* He married Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Henley, of the Grange, in the county of Southampton," &c.

to pronounce such claims unwarranted; and it is not necessary in this instance to do so, in order to preserve the integrity of the Pedigrees. The marriage of Vincent Rogers, in 1586, would not, in the least, conflict with the presumption that he was the *grandson* of the Martyr, as his elder children would, at that date, have been from forty-five to forty-eight years of age. Such may be presumed to have been the case; and the writer has no hesitation in saying, after carefully examining the vast accumulations of evidence which he has collected, that this family, of all now living, either in England or America, possesses the most (if not the only) reasonable claims to the honour of a direct descent from the Martyr.

Another exception may possibly be found in the case of Rev. John Rogers, minister of Chacombe, Northamptonshire, from whom descended Rev. John Rogers of Croglin (one of the ejected ministers of 1662), and Rev. Timothy Rogers, minister of Old Jewry, London (who wrote the celebrated Treatises on Melancholy).* On the authority of Bishop Kennett† (who also, without any authority, calls him a *son* of the martyr), he was presented to the Vicarage of Chacombe, in 1587, when the youngest child of the Martyr, if living, would have been at least thirty-three years of age. There is no difficulty, therefore, in admitting that he might have been a *grandson*, and, all things considered, it is quite probable that such was the case. His eldest son was not born until 1610, when even the Martyr's youngest child would have been fifty-six years of age—a fact which adds to the improbability of his

* More extended notices of these men will be found in another portion of this volume.

† Lansdowne MS. 980, fol. 157.

having been a son. He certainly was not, if the Pedigrees are correct; for the Martyr's son John, according to them, was bred to the profession of law, and was engaged, as has been shown, with his brother Daniel, in political negotiations abroad, about the time when this John was presented to the living of Chacombe. This branch of the family, if properly considered to have been such, is believed to have been long extinct; although it is possible, as elsewhere stated, that certain persons of the name now living are descended from it.

There are, perhaps, other families possessing claims equally or approximatively strong to a lineal descent from the Martyr, but the writer has been unable, after the most protracted and untiring researches, to discover any evidences to justify him in recording their names in this volume. The branches have, in many instances, undoubtedly become extinct, while in others, male representatives having ceased, the name and all traces of the lineage have been lost.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF SOME OF THE

PRINCIPAL SUPPOSED DESCENDANTS

OF

JOHN ROGERS, THE MARTYR.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES,

&c.

DANIEL ROGERS. 1538—1591.

He was probably the eldest son, and also the eldest child of the Martyr, and was undoubtedly born at Wittenberg, in Saxony, about 1538. He came to England with his family in 1548, and was naturalised with them, by special Act of Parliament, in 1552. After his father's death, he returned to Wittenberg, and studied for some time under Melancthon, but came back to England early in Elizabeth's reign, and completed his education at Oxford, where he took his degrees as early as August, 1561. He probably did not marry until late in life (as he left but two children, one of whom was born after his death), but it is said that his wife's father, Nicasius Yetswiert, Clerk of the Signet, and the Queen's French Secretary, early introduced him at Court, where his personal demeanour and admirable qualities speedily attracted notice. We first hear of him in his public career as Secretary of Sir Henry Norris, in his various embassies abroad,

during and about the year 1569; in which capacity he rendered great service to Secretary Cecil, by transmitting to him, systematically, political and other information concerning the affairs of foreign countries, which his position enabled and his zeal led him to acquire, and which oftentimes proved of great importance. The testimony of that Minister and others, even at this early period, proves that he had already established a reputation for careful observation, reliable judgment, and general diplomatic ability, which his subsequent career fully justified and sustained. His value and importance were greatly enhanced by his being an extraordinary linguist, and able to write and converse fluently in all the important continental languages. During the next few years, he appears to have been frequently detached from the embassies, and employed as the Queen's special agent in various transactions abroad, being also occasionally associated with others in important missions — certainly, in October, 1574, with Sir William Winter, at Antwerp.

In June, 1575, he was despatched to the Low Countries, to treat with the Prince of Orange, among other things, for the restitution of goods taken from the English merchants by the people of Flushing, and also to dissuade him from admitting the influence and protection of the King of France. This mission appears also to have involved the negotiation and settlement of numerous mercantile claims and difficulties, and occupied him for nearly seven months, as he did not return to England until the last of December. Letters from the Queen's Ministers are still preserved, testifying to his zeal and the satisfactory character of his proceedings, and it is interesting to notice the manner in which he was addressed by them. Secre-

tary Walsingham says: "I am to thank you for your letters sent unto me, and do well like and allow of your manner of dealing in that negotiation:"— and again: "I thank you most heartily for your large and friendly letters, which, through the good observation that you have made, do give us great light to judge of the state of that country. Your curious search of our rebels' doings was no unprofitable travail," &c. While thus engaged, viz. in July, 1575, he was elected by the "Governour, Assistants, and Fellowship of Merchants Adventurers of England resident in Antwerp" to be their Secretary — a post then of no small importance. It will not be forgotten that his father had been one of the Chaplains of this body, forty years before. Their letter, advising him of his election, is highly complimentary. From the correspondence that has been preserved, he appears to have accepted the position, but, probably finding that it would interfere with his other more important duties, or that he could not close the mission upon which he was then engaged so soon as was requisite, he did not enter upon the office.

During the year 1576, he appears to have been occupied almost constantly in the Low Countries, in continued negotiations with the Prince of Orange, part of the time associated with Sir William Winter — returning, occasionally, on brief visits to England. His diaries, during a great part of this period, have been preserved, and are full of historical hints of more or less value. In March, 1577, he was sent, alone, to the States of the Low Countries, on a very important mission, being no less than the settlement of the terms and conditions of the then enormous loan of 200,000*l.* by the Queen to the States. This embassy involved frequent personal audiences with the Prince of Orange,

Duke Casimir, and other potentates, and seems, other matters growing out of it, to have been protracted through this and into the next year, as we find him still abroad in March, 1578.

In September, 1580, he was despatched into Germany to the Duke of Saxony, to engage him in the suppression of certain religious disturbances that had arisen there, being also commissioned to proceed to the Emperor in reference to various commercial disputes. The object of the Queen's intervention appears to have been to prevent a schism and division among the Protestants, for which purpose she suggested the assembling of a Synod — the usual resort, in those times and countries, in such difficulties. He reached Steinberg, from whence he wrote a letter, dated October 1st, which evinces how fully he was imbued with the object and importance of his mission. Shortly after this date, and, as it appears, owing to some treachery, he fell into the hands of the Spaniards, by whom he was detained as a prisoner for no less than four years. The particulars of his captivity have not been preserved, but he seems to have been kept in close confinement, and his existence even to have been endangered. The probability is that the King of Spain, who well knew how valuable a man he was to the English Queen, although he was also aware how faithfully and effectually he had for years been combatting him and his designs, did not dare to take his life, but consented to his incarceration and other indignities, under the pretence of detaining him for some debt, with which he seems to have been charged. His liberation was finally effected late in the year 1584, through the good services and liberality of a friend who had been his schoolfellow under Melancthon, at Wittenberg, in

1557. On the 15th of November in that year, being then at "Buccholt, a town of the Bishopric of Munster's jurisdiction," he addressed a letter to Lord Burghley, which, as it furnishes some interesting and important facts, and also gives an insight into the writer's character, is here quoted entire.

"Right Honourable:—After the enormous captivity which for four years I have sustained, being at this present, by the favour of the Almighty God, set at liberty, I find me not a little recreated, understanding the bountiful *patrocinie* [sic, i. e. patronage, protection] which it pleased your Lordship, in my extremity, to show me. I always heard that your Lordship were an honourable advancer of all such as travailed to deserve well of her Majesty and the Commonwealth, amongst which, as I have desired to be counted, so am I right glad if I have done any service that your Lordship beareth it so well in mind. Truly, I never travailed to pleasure the multitude, but judged it would stand me in stead, if my studies and services might be approved unto your Lordship. There be, which neither have travailed so long, neither in the like dangers as I have done, and yet have better been considered, whom I envy not. My conscience giveth me testimony that the travail I have followed, I never undertook as puffed up with vainglory or ambition, but stirred up by a singular desire, which I always have had, to seek the advancement of God's glory, her Majesty's assurance, and the establishment of the realm,—which endeavour and affection is like to remain with me as long as I shall live. If, besides, there be any skill or experience in me which may stand your Lordship in stead, I would think myself happy to be commanded by your Lordship, who may be (as I trust your Lordship is already persuaded)

assured of me. I should be over tedious if I here discoursed unto your Lordship after what sort I was taken, [and] by what practices detained so long time. It may suffice for this present to advertise your Lordship that, as I am, for mine own respect, right glad that I am at liberty—delivered out of so strange captivity—so, because it might have happened, if I had died in prison, that her Majesty (which the Almighty long preserve!) might have been interested (according as Spanish humours are inclined), I thank God I am at liberty, not only to convince all frauds which might have prejudiced her Majesty, but ready, and, peradventure, fitter to do greater service unto her Highness than ever before I have or could have done.

"After the young Baron of Anholt's death, his Castalin (whom they term here the Drost) and Treasurer, not being ignorant, in these civil furies, of Mendoza's deportment and departure out of England, rather desired my death, than that I should, after the manner I was delivered, be set at liberty; persuading themselves that, by keeping me close, and not suffering me to write and defend myself, they would either, by false and subtle advertisements sent unto the King, deceive him (by which means they thought to receive mountains of gold), or else make the old Baron (whom, in this his age, they abuse at their pleasure) to pay them whatsoever they should demand; who, in case I had died, was minded to put my charge upon the King's score, whose lordship of Bredeforde the said Baron hath in pawn of the King, for certain other sums of money lent him. Wherefore, not being able to discharge such accounts as for Shenks' expenses were required of me, the Almighty (besides the earnest travail of Stephen Le G——, whose industry deserveth to be known of your

Lordship) stirred up a Doctor of the Civil Law, called Stephen Degner, Counsellor unto the old Baron of Anholt (*which Doctor, twenty-seven years past, had been my school-fellow under Melancthon, at Wittenberg*), to convince the barbarous covetousness and practices of my adversaries, — who bound himself, and such lands as he hath in the territory of Bredeforde, unto the Castalin and Rentmaster (which two studied, for their gain, to prolong my captivity) for the paying of 160*l.* sterling; which, besides the sum her Majesty most liberally for my deliverance had granted, I am as yet to procure them. Wherefore, as I think that the news of my liberty will not be unacceptable unto your Lordship, so I am to beseech your Lordship that the suit, which of necessity I must make at this present, may not be *molestious* [sic, i. e. vexatious, annoying] unto your Lordship. For I am compelled, being destitute of convenient aid, to desire your Lordship to intercede for me unto her Majesty to be so gracious as to further me yet with 160*l.* sterling, to the intent I may fully be set at liberty, and discharge the said Doctor, who so charitably hath travailed for my liberty, and bound himself and his lands for the paying of the sum specified.

"If it may please, therefore, your Lordship to confer, touching this my suit, with my Lord of Leicester and Mr. Secretary, unto whose honours I have written at this time, or otherwise of your Lordship's bountifulness, in this my extremity, relieve me, I dare assure your Lordship, by the aid of the Almighty God, that it shall never repent your Lordship, — meaning to employ myself in such manner, for your Lordship's advantage and honour, as that your Lordship shall think your liberality well bestowed upon so thankful a man as I will prove me to be. In the meanwhile, I will not

cease to beseech the Almighty God to prosper your Lordship, granting you health, and giving a lucky end unto all your honourable endeavours."

By entries in the Register of the Privy Council, and from other documents that have been preserved, it appears that the entire sum for which his friend became bound was a large one, and the clergy in England were taxed, voluntarily rather than otherwise, to make up the amount, — probably, on account of the difficulty having arisen while he was engaged upon a mission of a religious character. The Archbishop of Canterbury thus contributed 12*l.*, the Bishop of London 3*l.*, &c. While engaged in London in effecting this object, as late as 1586, the Earl of Leicester, then Governor of the Low Countries, in various letters, was earnestly entreating that he might be sent to him, as he greatly needed his assistance; but, according to a despatch from Secretary Walsingham, he would not leave England until he had relieved his friend to the extent of every penny for which he was engaged.

About this time the Queen personally desired that he should be appointed to the Treasurership of St. Paul's — then a very important and honourable office. The ecclesiastical authorities, however, anxious as they appear to have been to please her Majesty, and to testify their respect for himself, felt compelled to oppose the measure, as a violation of the statutes and ordinances of the Cathedral, which absolutely required that the incumbent of that office should be in holy orders.

On the 5th of May, 1587, in the language of the Register, he "was sworn of the Clerks of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, upon signification of such her Highness's pleasure, delivered unto their Lordships by Mr. Secretary Walsingham," — which office he

held until his death. It would seem, from sundry references in the official records, that he had held a clerkship for some time before this date, and perhaps he was now appointed to the chief office of that name. Possibly he had hitherto been Clerk of the General Council; as there seems to have been such a body, in those times, in contradistinction to the Privy Council. He continued, however, to be employed, as occasion required, on embassies abroad, for we find him again in Denmark, as early as the 4th of December in this year, charged with several very interesting and important matters, in the negotiation of all of which he appears to have been successful. This mission terminated early in January, 1588, when he returned to England and his duties in the Council.

On the 10th of June following, he was despatched on what was probably his last and really most important embassy, being sent to the young King of Denmark, to convey the condolence of the Queen to him and his Court, on the occasion of the death of his late father, Frederic II., and to renew and confirm the treaty of amity then existing between the two kingdoms. How long he remained there is not known, his last preserved letter, dated August 10th, 1588, being written evidently in the midst of his negotiations. He appears to have been eminently successful in all the matters he then had in charge, and even to have negotiated some of importance with which he had not been entrusted, but in which his loyalty and patriotism, as well as the emergencies of the case, fully justified a departure from the strict obligations of diplomatic obedience to instructions. It was on this occasion that he thus rendered an incalculable service to the Queen. Premising that the fruitless negotiations concerning the famous "Bourborough Treaty" had just terminated, and that

England and Spain were at open warfare, he shall tell the story in his own words. He says, in the letter last mentioned, which is addressed to Lord Burghley, and which is quoted, as well for the historical fact it contains, as to show the quiet and ingenuous manner in which he treated a matter of such importance, as follows:—

"Your Lordship may perceive that I have touched divers things whereof I had no charge, and yet could not but move them, having regard unto the circumstances of this present time. There were certain which had received commissions from the King of Spain, to serve him with certain ships, mariners, and soldiers upon the seas, which, being invited with great stipends, thought they might so do. But being advertised of this matter, as they were ready to depart, I complained unto the Governours, declaring how far the attempt of such men were against the leagues which were between the Crowns of England and Denmark, and nothing conformable unto the sincere friendship which had been betwixt her Majesty and the late King their master. Upon this complaint of mine, although the parties pleaded their privileges, the Governours took severe order that neither they, nor any other of the subjects of the Crown of Denmark or Norway, or appertaining to the dominions of the King, should, either at this present, or hereafter, serve against her Majesty."

This brief paragraph embraces every word which he deemed necessary to bestow upon a matter, no less important than the prevention of the departure of a considerable armed fleet, which, in a few hours more, would have been added to the Spanish navy, and hostilely engaged against that of England,—which accession of force might have seriously affected the results of the eventful conflicts that soon followed.

The probability is that, after this, he devoted himself chiefly to his official duties at home, as evidences of his presence are to be found in the Council Registers; and it is not unlikely that the severities of his long imprisonment had undermined his constitution, for he did not long survive, dying, evidently somewhat unexpectedly, on the 11th of February, 1591, having signed his Will only on the previous day. He was buried, with public honours, at Sunbury, in Middlesex, where his monument existed in the time of Norden, but was probably destroyed when the church was rebuilt. The last public record to be found concerning him is in the Council Register, under the date of April 16th, 1592, from which it appears that he left but a small fortune to his family, and that his widow was then harassed on account of a bond for 100*l.*, which he had executed only a few days before his death, for the accommodation of one of her kinsmen. The remembrance of the excellent services which he had rendered to the Council and the kingdom induced that body to appeal to the young man's father to pay the debt — an appeal that was equivalent to a command. All that has been ascertained concerning his immediate descendants has been stated in the Genealogical Researches.

Enough has been said to indicate his character as an Ambassador, and to determine the fact that he stood high in the esteem and confidence of the Government and of the Queen herself. As a scholar, the testimony is quite as strong and abundant. Camden and Wood represent him as "excellently well learned," and "a most accomplished gentleman of his time." He aided the former materially in the preparation of his great historical work, and, at the time of his death, was writing for it an important paper concerning the

ancient Britons. As a Latin poet, he has been highly commended, and many of his productions are still extant. His negotiations abroad were chiefly conducted in foreign languages, and he appears to have been in correspondence and on terms of intimacy with the principal scholars of those times in all countries. On the 19th of July, 1588, during his last embassy, he delivered an oration in Latin to the Senate of Denmark, on the death of Frederick II. and accession of Christian IV., a reference to which will afford satisfactory evidence of his scholastic attainments. Various notices of him, in the letters of the most distinguished men of his time, fully corroborate the assertion that he was a remarkable man, and universally esteemed for his private character, general learning, and diplomatic skill. Cecil, Leicester, Walsingham, Sir Thomas Smith, and numerous others, address and speak of him in the kindest and most respectful terms; while Sir Philip Sidney is even affectionate, and prays one of his correspondents to "love his friend Rogers more and more for his sake."

The writer has been thus particular in the details of his history, and especially concerning his last mission to Denmark, in 1588, because the author of a recent History of the United Netherlands has unaccountably represented him as engaged, at that very time, in negotiating the "Bourborough Treaty" in Flanders, and has also presented him to the world, both as a man and an Ambassador, in a very unenviable light. His brother *John* (hereafter noticed) was one of the Commissioners of that Treaty, and his name is signed to the identical letter from which the historian derived the particulars of this portion of his account, as well as to numerous other documents concerning that affair.

Daniel was, as has been shown, during the whole time of these negotiations, either in England, attending to his official duties, or honourably serving his Queen at another Court in another country.*

[Harleian MSS. 36, 285, 1582, 6990. Lansdowne MSS. 42, 57, 155. Cotton MSS. Nero, B. 3, and Galba, V. VI. and VII. Burney MS. 370. Sloane MS. 2442. State Paper Office, "Conway Papers," Nos. 220 to 232, and Dom. Eliz., 143, Nos. 21 and 22. Camden's Elizabeth. Murdin's State Papers. Scrinia Ceciliana. Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses. Norden's Speculum Britanniæ. Lyson's Parishes of Middlesex. Leycester Correspondence. Strype's Life of Whitgift. Motley's United Netherlands, vol. ii. chap. xviii.]

JOHN ROGERS, LL.D. 1540–1603.

According to the pedigrees, he was the second son, and probably the second child of the Martyr. His birth, therefore, may be safely referred to about the year 1540, and as occurring at Wittenberg. He came to England with the family in 1548, and was naturalised with them, by special Act of Parliament, in 1552. It is doubtful if he left the country after his father's death, as he matriculated as a pensioner of St. John's College, Cambridge, May 17th, 1558, only about three years after that event. He afterwards migrated to Trinity College, of which he became a scholar. He proceeded B.A. in 1562–3, was soon after elected Fellow, and commenced M.A. in 1567. In some old pedigrees he is styled "Proctor of the Civil Law," but, in 1574, he was created LL.D., and, on the 21st of November in

* For an explanation of this extraordinary inaccuracy, and, doubtless, unintentional injustice, which appears in Mr. Motley's United Netherlands, vol. ii. chap. xviii., we must await that author's pleasure.

that year, he was admitted to the College of Advocates. It is probable, from various references in the despatches of his brother Daniel, that he accompanied him, in a subordinate capacity, during the next few years, on various missions to the Low Countries. He appears to have so well acquitted himself that, in August, 1580, he was despatched by Queen Elizabeth, as sole Commissioner, to settle a treaty with the town of Elving; and also on special missions to the Kings of Denmark and Poland—one of his duties concerning the former being to notify him of his election to the Order of the Garter. His despatches in connection with this embassy have not been preserved. He was returned for Wareham to the Parliaments that met November 23rd, 1585, and October 29th, 1586, being then described as of the Inner Temple.

In 1588, he was selected as one of the Commissioners to negotiate what is known as the "Bourborough Treaty," his associates being the Earl of Derby, Lord Cobham, Sir James Crofts, and Dr. Valentine Dale. However unsatisfactory may have been the results of that mission, they cannot be attributed to any lack of either zeal or ability on the part of the English Commissioners, but rather to the fact that the King of Spain, and his representative the Duke of Parma, acted with a degree of duplicity, and even absolute deceit, scarcely paralelled in the entire history of diplomacy. As Dr. Rogers was the only one among them who could converse in the Italian language, much of the responsibility of the negotiations was thrown upon him, and his own despatches, which are confirmed by the testimony of his associates, show that every thing was done that could have been accomplished under such circumstances,—being not only compelled,

as they were, to combat the duplicity that was apparent, but also to suffer from the deceit and treachery of which they could have no knowledge. The author of a recent History of the United Netherlands has chosen to represent Dr. Rogers, in these negotiations (although very strangely depriving him of his own name and giving to him that of his brother), to say the least, as a vain and conceited man, as well as a puerile and even ridiculous Ambassador,—conclusions which, the present writer submits, are not justified, even by the records of the Commission from which the narrative in that work is professedly compiled.

Immediately on the termination of this mission, late in July, 1588, he was sent, in conjunction with Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, to Embden, to treat with Commissioners of the King of Denmark, in reference to the Russian traffic of the English merchants. Returning to England, he again sat for Wareham in the Parliament that met February 4th, 1589. On the 11th of October, 1596, he appears to have become Chancellor of the Cathedral church of Wells, and we have an account of his delivering a discourse in that church (such being one of the duties of a Chancellor in those days), on the 4th of December in that year. He resigned this office, however, March 3rd, 1603, and beyond this date his history cannot at present be traced. The Messrs. Cooper erroneously record him as M.P. for Canterbury, in 1596, and as receiving knighthood on the 23rd of July, 1603. The Sir John Rogers of that date was of an ancient Dorsetshire family, distantly, if at all, related to the Doctor, and the member of Parliament was of still another family in Kent. Of his wife and their descendants, there is nothing to add to the account in the Genealogical Researches.

[Harleian MSS. 168, 1441, 1551, 1563, 1959. Sloane MS. 2442. Lansdowne MS. 155. Cotton MS. Nero, B. 3. State Paper Office MSS. Spain, February to July, 1588. British Bibliographer. Coote's English Civilians. Le Neve's Fasti. Coopers' Athenæ Cantabrigienses. Motley's United Netherlands, vol. ii. chap. xviii.]

Rev. JOHN ROGERS (of Chacombe). 1565—1620.

It has been shown, in the Genealogical Researches, that this person could not have been a son, but was, very probably, a grandson of the Martyr, and, if so, he must have been born about 1565. Nothing is known of his parentage or early life. The only record of him is as Vicar of Chacombe, Northamptonshire, on the presentation of Richard Fox, October 12th, 1587. He held this living until as late as 1620, as appears by the following letter, addressed to Dr. Lambe, Chancellor of the Diocese of Peterborough, the supposed date of which is May 16th, in that year. It is worthy of preservation, as exhibiting a trait in his character, and as containing almost the only information yet discovered concerning him. He says: —

"Mr. Chancellor: These are to let you understand that, when process was sent forth for the Ministers to meet for Bohemia, my name was not in the process; and there was no good reason why it should be there, as my Vicarage is under 14*l.* a year, at the uttermost, and my charge is seven persons in an household upon this allowance; yet, if my Lord of Peterborough will charge me to contribute anything—though I be poorest in all his Diocese—I will obey; and so rest, your worship's to command."

He published, also in 1620, a volume entitled "Discourse to Christian Watchfulness—How to Live and how to Die," which Calamy characterises as a good book. Nothing is known of him after this date, or of any of his family, except one son of the same name hereafter mentioned.

[State Papers, Dom. James I. vol. cxv. No. 16. Lansdowne MS. 980, fol. 157. Calamy's Account.]

Rev. TIMOTHY ROGERS (of Chappell). 1589—1650.

This supposed great-grandson of the Martyr was the eldest son of Rev. Vincent Rogers, of Stratford Bow, Middlesex, and was baptized in that parish, March 30th, 1589. We first hear of him as "Preacher of the Word of God at Steple, in Essex," as he described himself in the title of a volume published in 1621, called "The Roman Catharist." Probably a little before this, he had also published "The Righteous Man's Evidence for Heaven," which appears to have been a highly popular book, and of which copies are still extant. The twelfth edition was issued in 1637, and Watt says that the first one appeared in 1619. The only reference to himself is in the Preface, as "Pastor in an obscure country village." In 1623, according to Morant, he became Vicar of Great Tay, in Essex, and appears to have continued such until 1650, in which year his successor is first named. Newcourt does not mention him in this capacity, but Morant

quotes from the parish register. He appears also to have been presented to the Vicarage of All Saints, Sudbury, in Suffolk, August 19th, 1636, but how long that connection existed is not known. That he held both livings simultaneously, seems proved by the dedication of one of his volumes to Mr. John Eden, whom he calls his "godly patron," and by whom the presentation to All Saints was made, while in the title he styles himself "Minister of the Church at Chappell, in Essex." In others he speaks of himself as of "Much Tay," and of "Chappell by Much Tay;" all evidently synonymous with "Great Tay," or "Tay Magna." In the "Division of the County of Essex into Classes," published in 1648, he is named as "Minister of Chappell," and he signed, the same year, as "Pastor of Chappell," "A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Essex,"—both indicating that he was, to some extent, a Nonconformist. Sometime during this period, he published three other works, viz. "Good News from Heaven," "A Faithful Friend true to the Soul," and "The Christian's Jewel of Faith," all of which seem to have passed through several editions. Of his family nothing definite can be ascertained. He appears to have had a son Samuel, who was probably his assistant in one or both of his parishes. There seem to have been several clergymen of the name of Rogers in the immediate vicinity, and Newcourt evidently confounded them in some cases, as his accounts do not always agree with the parish registers. This Timothy Rogers died, probably, about 1650.

[Newcourt's Repertorium. Morant's History of Essex. Badham's History of All Saints' Church, Sudbury. Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica. Parish Register, Stratford Bow.]

Rev. NEHEMIAH ROGERS, B.D. 1594—1660.

He was the second son and third child of Rev. Vincent Rogers, of Stratford Bow, Middlesex, and supposed great-grandson of the Martyr. He was baptized in that parish, October 20th, 1594. Very little has been preserved of his history, although he seems to have been, in his times, a man of considerable eminence. Of his earlier life, it is only known that he was for some time Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. His first preferment, of which there is any account, was to the Vicarage of Messing, in Essex, May 13th, 1620; for some time previous to which he had been acting as curate or assistant of St. Margaret's, Fish Street Hill, in London. On the 25th of May, 1632, he was appointed to the sinecure Rectory of Tay Magna, in Essex. Late in 1635, or early in 1636, he presented, as a free gift, to the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford, the perpetual advowson of the Rectory of Gatton, in Surrey, which had previously lapsed to the Crown, and which he had evidently received from Charles I. The living was then worth more than 100*l.* per annum, and a letter from Archbishop Laud is preserved, in which his liberality is recorded in the warmest terms. On the 1st of May, 1636, he was presented by the King to a Prebend in the Cathedral church of Ely, and became possessor of the sixth stall. In the Cathedral records he is styled S. T. B. On the 26th of March, 1642, he resigned the Rectorship of Tay Magna, and was collated to the Rectory of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, in London, probably resigning also his Vicarage of Messing shortly after, as his successor was appointed on the following 3rd of May. These seem to be all the livings which he ever possessed, although that of

Finchley has been assigned to him, as it appears, erroneously. Soon afterwards, probably in 1643, being an uncompromising royalist, he was sequestered of both his Rectory and his Prebend, though he seems to have retained both nominally until his death, as his successor was not appointed in either case until after that event. As late as February 23rd, 1653, the Vestry of St. Botolph's petitioned the Lord Protector that the inhabitants of that parish might have liberty to make choice of a Minister, and he was the Rector named whose place was to have been usurped by this election. No new Rector was appointed, however, until August 10th, 1660 — "per mort. Rogers," according to Newcourt. He appears to have continued to preach after his deprivation, at least during several years immediately preceding his death, and to have been still in connection with the Established Church; for, in the Preface to one of his books, published in 1659, he refers to his ministry for three years at Little Braxsted, and his subsequent "nomination and free presentation" to the church at Doddinghurst, both in Essex. He died at the latter place, early in May, 1660. While passing through the church-yard, after Sunday morning service, without any previous warning or complaint, he fell suddenly to the ground, speechless and motionless, and was a corpse before the hour for afternoon service. He was buried at Doddinghurst, on the 9th of that month.

His published works are still extant, and comprise some eight or ten volumes. They are chiefly expositions of the most interesting Parables, and the subjects are handled with much skill. The titles of some of them are as follows: — "The Wild Vine, or, An Exposition on Isaiah's Parabolical Song of the Beloved" — "The Indulgent Father" (The Prodigal Son) —

"The Watchful Shepherd" (The Lost Sheep) — "The Good Housewife, with her Broom and Candle" (The Lost Groat) — "The Fast Friend, or, A Friend at Midnight" — and "The Figless Fig-Tree." Besides these, several other works of a similar character are announced in the publishers' advertisements. He also published, in 1631–2, a Sermon, preached at the Second Triennial Visitation of the Bishop of London, held at Kelvedon, in Essex, which evinces his scholarship and high intellectual abilities. It is probable that some of his works were translated abroad, or, at least, that his eminence as a scholar or a theologian were recognised on the continent, as the writer has seen a single copy of a fine engraved portrait of him, by Bernigeroth of Leipsic, with a German inscription, and evidently from some German work which he has not yet been able to discover.

The name of his wife has not been preserved. A daughter, Mary, died in 1642. His eldest son, Nehemiah, was a civilian, and held a responsible post in the Customs. He married Mary, daughter of Edmund Porter, D.D., and sister of Sir Charles Porter, Kt., Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and their son, Edmund, was living in London in 1701. His second son, and probably his only other child, was John, the immediate ancestor of the present Blachford family, and father of its first Baronet, an account of whom will be found hereafter.

[Parish Register, Stratford Bow. Kennett's Register and Chronicle. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy. Willis' Survey of Cathedrals. Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral. Malcolm's Londinium Redivivum. Newcourt's Repertorium. Laud's Works, Oxford, 1860, vol. vii. p. 242.]

Rev. JOHN ROGERS (of Croglin). 1610—1680.

He was the eldest son of Rev. John Rogers of Chacombe, and supposed great-grandson of the Martyr. He was born April 25th, 1610, twenty-three years after his father's appointment to that Vicarage, which would seem to indicate, if the date given by Kennett is correct, that the latter had married late in life, or was very young when he received that living. He was educated at Wadham College, Oxford, and, after taking holy orders, preached for some time at Middleton Cheyney, Northamptonshire, and afterwards at Leigh, in Kent. In 1644, he was sent, by order of Parliament, to be Minister at Barnard Castle, Durham, where he remained until 1660, when he was removed on account of some opposition to the authorities, but seems to have been immediately presented by Lord Wharton to the Rectory of Croglin, in Cumberland, in connection with which he is best known. He held this Rectory, however, only until 1662, when, on Bartholomew Day, in common with the great body of non-conforming clergy, he was ejected under the Act of Uniformity. He appears to have maintained a high character among the superior clergy and gentry, and is said to have continued to be on intimate terms with Dr. Stern, Archbishop of York; Dr. Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle; Dr. Crew, Bishop of Durham; Dr. Prideaux, Sir Henry Vane, and others of their rank. In private life he was noted for his charities and hospitalities, and is said to have lived entirely on his own resources, the income from his living never exceeding 10*l.* per annum. He was remarkably zealous and resolute, but of engaging manners and a catholic spirit, so that he retained universal respect, even after his eject-

ment. He continued to preach, in spite of all opposition, and founded a number of congregations in Durham and Yorkshire, but, during the latter part of his life, confined his labours chiefly to Startford, in the latter county, being the regular Minister of the congregation there. He died at that place, November 28th, 1680. As an evidence of the estimation in which he was held, it may be said that his funeral sermon was preached by a clergyman of the established Church.

There was nothing of his printed except "A Little Catechism," and two admirable letters in a small work entitled "The Virgin Saint," published in 1673. It is of him that the very popular story was related, some years ago, respecting his release from threatened imprisonment, through the interposition of a little child, the grand-daughter of the magistrate before whom he and other non-conforming friends were arraigned. The details of this occurrence seem probable enough, but very high authorities have intimated a doubt concerning them, and it is not necessary, therefore, to repeat them. There is, after all, no striking merit in the anecdote, its interest being chiefly concentrated in the singular coincidence that the story was, many years afterwards, related by his son at a dinner table, whereupon the mistress of the house avowed herself to have been the child in question.

He is believed to have married a daughter of Thomas Butler, of Newcastle. Of his children there is no positive information, except concerning his son Timothy, noticed hereafter. There is some reason to suppose, however, that Rev. John Rogers, formerly Vicar of Sherburne and Fenton — his son, Rev. Thomas Rogers, of Wakefield — and his grandsons, Rev. Charles Rogers, of Sowerby Bridge, and Rev. Samuel Rogers,

of Bulwell, — and also Rev. James Rogers, a famous Wesleyan preacher in the latter part of the last century, whose grandson is Rev. Robert Roe Rogers, of Madeley, Shropshire,—were among his descendants, or those of his father. So far as the survivors of these families can trace their traditions, a claim to a descent from the Martyr is prominent, and they have, for many generations, been accustomed to celebrate the 4th of February as a solemn fast. But the unfortunate failure to preserve genealogical records renders it impossible to determine the connection with certainty.

[Calamy's Account. Nonconformists' Memorial. Wilson's Dissenting Churches. Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses. Kennett's Register and Chronicle. Providence Displayed. Spiritual Magazine, 1784. Christian Reformer, 1816. Monthly Repository, 1816.]

Rev. JOHN ROGERS, M.D. 1625—1670.

This remarkable, and, in his time, somewhat noted character, was the second son of Rev. Nehemiah Rogers, of Messing, Prebendary of Ely, &c., and supposed great-great-grandson of the Martyr. From incidental remarks in his own writings, it appears that he was born at Messing, about 1625. From the same sources it may be gathered that he was naturally very precocious, and led rather an uneasy life in his early days. He says himself that he was much distressed while at Cambridge, and "sought from college to college to be but a sizer or poor scholar" (he was at one time of King's)—that he "preached in Huntingdonshire when eighteen or nineteen years old," then "taught school at Lord Brudenel's house in Huntingdonshire,

and afterwards the Free School of St. Neots." Some of these passages in his history are confirmed by a letter written to Cromwell, some years later, by one of his confidential correspondents. This uneasiness, and some other idiosyncracies, appear to have been constitutional, and to have clung to him as long as his career can be traced.

At a very early age he was presented to the Rectory of Purleigh, in Essex, which was a valuable one, being then worth 200*l.* per annum — a large sum in those days. He evidently did not remain long personally attached to this parish, but, perhaps impelled by his constitutional uneasiness, or fired by a not unnatural ambition, and seeking a wider sphere for the display of abilities which he deemed wasted among the semi-heathen of his charge, he employed a substitute, and forthwith emigrated to London. Cromwell's correspondent states that he there endeavoured strenuously to obtain the Rectorship of St. Martin's in the Fields, by ousting the then incumbent on the plea of his non-residency, apparently forgetful that he had been himself obnoxious to the same charge, in reference to his living of Purleigh. For some cause now unknown, he appears to have been very soon deprived virtually of this living, although he nominally held it until about 1653, but was sent, by the Council of State, to Ireland, probably with the Commissioners, and we find him settled for a time over an independent congregation, then meeting in Christ's church, the Cathedral, in Dublin. He seems to have been personally connected with Purleigh as late as May, 1650, and was in Dublin certainly in the latter part of 1651 and early in 1652. The Independent Ministers who were sent into Ireland at this time had already, or very soon after, adopted

the sentiments of the Baptist party, to which he appears to have been decidedly opposed, and they soon succeeded in effecting a division in his congregation, thereby rendering his situation so unpleasant that he abandoned it and returned to England during this latter year, bearing with him, however, a very strong testimonial signed by the Council of State. His original appointment to this position indicates that he must have been held by the authorities in high estimation, for his salary was equivalent to more than 2000*l.* at the present day. His temporary political connection with the Baptists, at this time, probably led Wood and others to rank him with that class of sectaries; but it is clear that he was compelled to abandon his Irish charge, because he disagreed with their religious dogmas, and his own writings also show that he never adopted, but rather opposed, their peculiar sentiments. On his return to London, he obtained a Lectureship in the church of St. Thomas Apostle, and, yielding to the eccentricities of the times, launched into a career as erratic and eventful as its history is amusing.

His sentiments must have early undergone a radical change — perhaps owing to what he considered his unjust treatment at Purleigh — for we find him, early in the Protectorate, a strong Cromwellian, and evidently, young as he was, of some note in that party. But he soon became disgusted with his associates — even with Cromwell himself — and, under the influence of his chronic inconstancy, abandoned the Independents in turn, and finally resolved himself into a Fifth-Monarchist; in which character he appears to have indulged in various extravagancies, until Cromwell, uncertain whither his strange propensities would next lead him, compassionately shut him up in prison, to save him from himself.

The immediate cause of his arrest appears to have been his violent language in the pulpit against the Government. He was confined in Lambeth prison from July 27th, 1654, until March 31st, 1655, when he was removed to Windsor Castle, where he remained until October 2nd, when he was taken to the Isle of Wight,—being for a time in two minor prisons there, and finally deposited in Carisbrook Castle, where he was detained until January 1657, when he was released by the order of the Council, and returned to London on the 21st of that month. This precautionary measure evidently did not at once effect a cure, for Cromwell's correspondent already mentioned, who seems to have been one of his keepers, testified that he was one of the most uneasy prisoners he ever knew, and, at an early period, advised his instant liberation. He wrote, "If your Highness should study to please Mr. Rogers, you cannot do it in a more direct line than by imprisoning him," &c. He seems to have led his keepers sad lives—insisting upon being attended with the greatest punctilio, and on receiving his company at all times and on all occasions. Too self-confident, perhaps, he insisted on being brought to trial, and his friends urged Cromwell to that effect. The answer of the grim Protector was rough but expressive:—"As you please," said he; "but, if he is tried, I assure you that he will be also hung!" The application does not appear to have been further pressed.

This is a brief but fair synopsis of his history down to this period, gathered chiefly from his own writings, and confirmed by contemporaneous records. It must be admitted, however, that, with all his idiosyncracies —which should, perhaps, be attributed to his youth and the exuberance of his ambitious spirit—he was

bold, zealous, and unquestionably a man of uncommon abilities. The odium that attached to the Fifth-Monarchists, of whom he and Feake appear to have been leading spirits, rendered him fair game for all party historians, and therefore it is not surprising that such writers as Wood should give prominence to the less pleasing traits in his character, and withhold the justice really due to him in other respects. Even the official records of the Protectorate show that, during his imprisonment in London and at Windsor, he received constant and extraordinary attentions from the noble and wealthy, by whom he must have been much esteemed. They speak of his "eminent friends," and it is even mentioned that, on one occasion, no less than an hundred persons were in waiting at the prison gates for admission to his apartments. After his removal to Carisbrook, these attentions necessarily ceased. From his own account, he and his family suffered every thing but death itself, during his imprisonment, and he must have been regarded as something more than an ordinary prisoner, as Cromwell, for so long a time, dared neither to hang or to release him. It does not appear that he was finally enlarged on account of any special concessions which he made, as, about the same time, his fellow-prisoners — Sir Henry Vane, Judge Jenkins, and Mr. Feake — were also set at liberty. In June, 1657, only a few months after this event, he was again accused to the Council of holding dangerous and treasonable correspondence with Colonel Harrison, Mr. Feake, and other opponents of the Government, but does not appear to have been molested until early in February 1658, when he was again arrested and committed to the Tower of London, on the nominal charges of attempting to pervert the

soldiery and of distributing seditious publications among the people. The Government was compelled, however, in a very short time, to announce officially that he was not obnoxious to these charges, and he was released early in the following April. Baxter states that he continued to preach against, and otherwise oppose, the Government and the Presbyterians, till as late a period as the brief ascendency of Richard Cromwell; but he seems, about that time, to have abandoned both theology and politics, and to have applied himself to the profession of medicine; for he took the degree of Doctor of Physic, at Utrecht, in October, 1662, and on the 13th of June, 1664, the same degree was conferred upon him at Oxford, at which time he was practising his profession in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey. He cannot be traced distinctly after this date, but it is supposed that certain advertisements of remedies for the plague, which appeared during its prevalence, and which seem to reveal his peculiar style of writing, indicate his identity. An entry in the register of that parish records the burial of one of his name, on the 22nd of July, 1670, and doubtless has reference to him.

He was the author of several works of a singular character, and his taste and ability in concocting the most extravagant titles for them has never been excelled. The books themselves are chiefly polemical, and display a great deal of erudition, although his discussions are somewhat erratic, and sometimes ostentatious. As specimens of the literature of the times, of their peculiar character, they certainly rank most favourably. We may call attention to them briefly by portions of their titles, viz. "Ohel, or Bethshemesh: A Tabernacle for the Sun; or, Irenicum Evangelicum"

—"Mene, Tekel, Perez; or, A little Appearance of the Handwriting against the Powers and Apostates of the Times"—"Jegar-Sahadvtha; An Oiled Pillar"—"Challah, the Heavenly Nymph"—"Dod, or Chathan; The Beloved, or the Bridegroom going forth for his Bride"—"Sagrir, or Doomsday drawing nigh"—"A Christian Concertation with Mr. Prynn, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Harrington," &c.—and "Mr. Harrington's Parallel Unparallelled." Besides these, may be found two broadsheet letters to Cromwell, proffering him certain seasonable advice, which he appears to have disregarded. After commencing his medical career, he also published, in Latin, "Disputatio Medica Inauguralis," and a larger volume entitled "Analecta Inauguralia," &c. A second edition of the latter appeared in 1664, and its title contains a small portrait, on the margin of which is inscribed "Ætat. 38," but whether this refers to that year, or 1662, when the first edition was issued, is not known. In either case, however, it would establish the date of his birth as heretofore stated.

He married, about 1649, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Paine, of Midlow, Huntingdonshire, and then the widow of a Mr. Smyth, of St. Neots. She seems to have clung to him affectionately during his entire imprisonment. They appear to have had four children, two of whom died in Lambeth prison, in 1654. A third was born in Windsor Castle, October 1st, 1655, and was, from that circumstance, named "Prisonborn." He afterwards held a commission in the army of Charles II., and was killed in a duel in France, leaving no issue. Their other son, John, who seems to have been the eldest child, and to have been born in 1650, was the only survivor, and subsequently became an eminent

and wealthy merchant at Plymouth. He was created a Baronet February 21st, 1699, being then M.P. He was High Sheriff of Devonshire in 1706, and died in 1710. He was the first of a line of Baronets, and the founder of a family, the members of which have successively won honours for themselves, and rendered valuable and efficient services to their country, in all the professions—civil, military, and religious.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses. Granger's Biographical History. Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica. Reliquiæ Baxterianæ. Thurloe's State Papers. Mercurius Politicus. Brook's Lives of the Puritans. Godwin's History of the Commonwealth. Reid's Presbyterian Church in Ireland. His own Books above quoted.]

Rev. TIMOTHY ROGERS (of Old Jewry).

1660—1729.

He was a son of Rev. John Rogers, of Croglin, and supposed great-great-grandson of the Martyr. He was born at Barnard Castle, Durham, and, therefore, some time before his father's removal from that place in 1660. His early years were passed amid the confusions and discomforts attending the operation of the Act of Uniformity, which may have had some influence in producing the chronic disorganisation from which he was subsequently so great a sufferer. He received his collegiate education at one of the Universities of North Britain, where he took the degree of M.A. He was, of course, always a dissenter. His first employment as a preacher appears to have been as assistant in connection with a congregation in Crosby Square,

Bishopsgate Street, London, in which capacity he continued for several years. He must have commenced his public career when quite a young man, as a discourse of his was published in 1682, entitled "Early Religion," &c., being a Sermon on the death of Mr. Robert Linager. A few years after this, probably owing to some hereditary irregularities in his system, he gradually sank into a condition of melancholy, and eventually became what we should now call a religious monomaniac. His mental distress appears to have been of the most terrible character, and induced, sympathetically, certain physical disorders which rendered him totally unfit for any occupation, and he retired, for about two years, from the world. By judicious treatment, the difficulties were greatly overcome, and he returned to his congregation, about 1690. In that year, he published his "Practical Discourses on Sickness and Recovery," and, in 1691, "A Discourse concerning Trouble of Mind and the Disease of Melancholy." By this latter work he is, perhaps, best known. Several editions of it were published in rapid succession, and it was reprinted as late as 1807. Soon after this, he was chosen colleague with Rev. John Shower, whose congregation then met in Jewin Street, but subsequently removed to the famous meeting-house in Old Jewry. He was a very popular preacher, his personal appearance, manner of address, and excellent learning (being a great linguist and an extraordinary general scholar), combining to render him unusually attractive, in spite of his extreme diffidence. Alike in public and in private did he win the affection and respect of his people, who, when they were compelled to part finally with him, settled upon him a handsome allowance for life. He published several discourses, during his

connection with the chapel in Old Jewry, delivered chiefly on funeral occasions, and also translated one or more works from the French. John Dunton, the famous bookseller, gives a characteristic and amusing account of him as an author. He says:—"He is very generous and undesigning, and is nothing of the humour with those authors, who either turn themselves into half-booksellers, or else insist upon such terms for their copy as that an impression will scarce answer the prime cost." Neither his mind or body ever thoroughly recovered a healthy tone, and his infirmities increased to such an extent that he was obliged to resign his charge, in 1707, when he retired permanently into the country, after which his history is very indistinct. He lived for several years, and perhaps for the rest of his life, at Wantage, in Berkshire, and is supposed to have died there, about 1729, when he must have been, at least, in his seventieth year. There is an excellent original portrait of him in Dr. Williams' Library, in Redcross Street, London, from which one or more engravings have been made. His portrait bears a marked resemblance to that of the famous Robert Hall. There is no evidence that he ever married, but, on the contrary, every reason to believe that he died single and childless.

[Lysons' Magna Britannia (Berkshire). Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica. Calamy's Account. Wilson's Dissenting Churches. Wilson's Defoe. Life and Errors of John Dunton. Tong's Memoir of Shower. Protestant Dissenters' Magazine, 1799. Congregational Magazine, 1834.]

APPENDIX.

ACCOUNT OF THE
EXAMINATIONS, &c. OF JOHN ROGERS,
AS WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

[From the Copy in the Lansdowne MSS. Vol. 389, Fol. 190 b. to 202.]

Note.— It would not be practicable to direct attention to every minute difference that exists between the two versions, and the reader must be asked to compare them carefully, with the assurance that his labour will be amply repaid. The notes which the writer has been compelled to make are numerous, and yet he has confined himself to the most glaring discrepancies. To many others he has simply called attention by the use of *italics*. But besides these, there are repeated instances where one or more words have been inserted or omitted, and also where those in the MS. have been transposed, sometimes without materially affecting the sense, but often otherwise. It will be necessary to read the two versions simultaneously, sentence by sentence, in order to realise how mercilessly Foxe used the licence which he assumed.

The common version which is given is that in the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, published in 1563, allowing the author, by a careful collation, the benefit of all proper corrections which he made in the editions subsequently revised by him before his death. No attention has, of course, been paid to the alterations and emendations made by more modern editors, for the reason, as before stated, that they have been made according to their respective concep-

tions of what was proper, and not after an actual reference to the only real authority—the MS. itself.

The MS. is now printed exactly as it is written, without correcting even its occasional tautology and bad grammar, presuming that the circumstances under which it was composed will sufficiently explain any occasional instance of this sort. The present writer is responsible only for the punctuation.

Y^e^ CŌFESSIŌ & ANSWERE OF IOHN ROGERS, MADE VNTO Y^e^ LORDE CHAŪCELOU^r^ & Y^e^ RESTE OF Y^e^ K. & Q. MOSTE HONORABLE COŪSELL, Y^e^ 22 OF IANUARYE AN: 1554.*

Ch. Firste, y^e^ lorde chaūcelou^r^† sayd vnto me, syr, yo^u^ have heard of y^e^ state of y^e^ realme, in w^ch^ it standeth now?

Ro. No, my lorde, I have bene kepte in cloose preson, & excepte there hath bene some generall thinge sayd at y^e^ table, whē I was at dyner or supp, I have heard nothinge,—& there I have heard nothinge whervpō any speciall thinge myghte be groūded.

Ch. (*mockinglye*) Generall thinges, generall thinges! ye have heard of my lorde cardinalles cōminge‡, syr, and y^t^ y^e^ *whole* ꝑliamēte hath receaved his blessinge§, not one resistinge vnto it, but one mā *speakinge* agaīste it‖: such an vnitie &

* Old Style — 1555.

† Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. He was then, as a member of the Council, sitting in the capacity of Lord Chancellor, but not subsequently, though he is generally thus designated throughout the MS.

‡ Cardinal Pole, as the Pope's Legate, landed at Dover on the 21st or 22nd of November, 1554, from whence he proceeded to Gravesend, and came to the Court at Whitehall on the 24th of the same month, his attainder having been reversed on the 22nd.—*Diary of Henry Machyn; Grey Friars' Chronicle; Journals of the House of Commons.*

§ This event took place on the 30th of November, 1554, and not on the 29th, as is commonly said. The two Houses of Parliament agreed to the Supplication, as it was called, on the 29th, and, during the afternoon of the next day (being the Feast of St. Andrew), it was read to the King and Queen, at the palace at Whitehall, the members of Parliament being present, and by them presented to the Legate, who, after delivering an appropriate oration, pronounced a general absolution.—*Journals of the House of Commons.*

‖ The evident meaning of this sentence is, that there was no absolute

such a mirakle hath not bene seen: & all they, of w^{ch} there are 160 in one howse, *save one* * (*whose name I know not* †), have, w^{t} one assente & cõsente, receaved pdõ of their offẽces, for y^{e} schisme y^{t} we have had in england, in refusinge y^{e} holy father of rome to be *y^{e}* head of y^{e} cath: church. & cẽ^{a}: how say you^{u}? are you^{u} *cõtẽted* to vnite & knitte your selfe to y^{e} faith of y^{e} cath: church, w^{t} vs, in y^{e} state *w^{ch} is now* ‡ in england? wyll ye do that?

Ro. Y^{e} cath: church I neũ dyd nor *never* wyll dissente from.

Ch. Nay, but I speake of y^{e} state of y^{e} cath: church in y^{t} wyse in w^{ch} we now stand in england, havĩge receaved y^{e} pope to be supme head.

Ro. I know none other head but christe of his cath: church, neither wyll I acknowledge y^{e} b. of rome to have any *other* § authoritie thẽ any other b. hath, by y^{e} word of god,

resistance to this submission on the part of any of the members of that Parliament, and that there was but one man who even spoke in opposition to it, he, perhaps, finally joining in the general humiliation.

* In all the editions of Foxe this phrase reads "said one," which greatly mystifies the sense of the passage, but the error was corrected in the errata to the edition of 1563, although strangely overlooked by the subsequent editors, and even by Foxe himself, who revised two or three editions before his death. In the MS. the meaning is clear enough.

† These words are evidently parenthetical on the part of Rogers, and not of the Lord Chancellor, who must have known who was the daring individual referred to. The only information concerning his identity is furnished by Strype, who says: "The Parliament, by an instrument, declared their sorrow for their apostacy, and prayed the King and Queen to intercede with the Cardinal to obtain his absolution, and they all kneeled down and received it. Yet one, Sir Ralph Bagnal, refused to consent to this submission, and said 'he was sworn to the contrary to King Henry VIII., which was a worthy Prince, and laboured twenty-five years before he could abolish him (the Pope); and to say I will agree to it—I will not.' And many more were of the same mind, but none had the confidence to speak but he." (*Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 204.) The writer has discovered Strype's authority, in one of the Foxe MSS. He was knighted by the Protector Somerset, after the battle with the Scots, in 1546. One of the same name, in 1572, was notorious for harassing the clergy, under an odious commission, but was probably his successor.

‡ Rogers' own words refer to the condition of England under the new rule, but Foxe's alterations indicate the Romish Church.

§ Foxe's substitution of the word "more" for "other" materially weakens the sense of this passage. Rogers designed to declare that the Pope was no more than an ordinary Bishop, and had no higher or other authority.

neither yet by y^e^ doctrine of y^e^ old & pure cath: church 400 yeares after christe.

Ch. Whye diddeste tho^u^ thē acknowledge kynge hēry y^e^ 8^th^ to be supme head of y^e^ church*, yf christe be y^e^ only head?

Ro. I never graūted hym to have any supmacie in spuall thinges, as are y^e^ forgevenes of sȳnes, gevīge of y^e^ holy goste, authoritie to be a iudge above y^e^ word of god, & *cētera*.

Ch. (*b. of dur: & wo^r^:*) Yea, sayd he, & y^e^ b. of duresme† & worcest‡, yf *y^u^* haddeste sayd so in his dayes (*& nodded on me w^t^ a laughter*), *y^u^* haddeste not bene alive nowe.

Ro. W^ch^ thīge I denyed, & wold have tolde how he was sayd & mente to be supme head, but they looked & laughed one vpō an other, & made *a businesse at yt, so* y^t^ I was cō-strayned to let it passe: there lyeth also no greate waighte thervpō, for all y^e^ world knoweth what y^e^ meaninge was.§

Y^e^ L. ch: *told my* l. w. hawarde‖ y^t^ there was no incōveniēce therin, to have christe to be supme head & y^e^ b. of R. *therto;* & whē I was readye to have āswered y^t^ there cowld not be ij. heades of one church, & *more* plainly declared y^e^ vanitie of y^t^ his reasō, y^e^ L. ch: sayd, what sayste *y^u^?* make vs a *directe*¶ answer, wheth' *y^u^* wylte be one of *y^r^* cath: church, or not, w^t^ vs, in y^e^ state *y^t^ we are in nowe.*

Ro. My lord**, I cā not beleve y^t^ ye your selves do thinke in your heartes y^t^ he is supme head in forgevīge of *sȳnes*, & *cētera*, as is *aforesayd, for ye,* & *all y^t^ be of y^e^ realme*††, have now, xx. yeares longe, preached, & some of yo^u^ also writtē to y^e^ cōtra-

* Referring to the fact that Rogers thus addressed the King, in his Dedication of the Matthew Bible.

† Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham. See Note, p. 155.

‡ Nicholas Heath. See Note, p. 159.

§ Rogers' explanation, doubtless, would have been in unison with the doctrines afterwards so admirably embodied in the 37th Article of the Church of England.

‖ William, first Lord Howard of Effingham. See Note, p. 150.

¶ Foxe steadily persisted, in all his own editions, in making Rogers use here the ungrammatical word "directed."

** Foxe unwarrantably and unnecessarily here inserted the words "without fail."

†† Foxe's alteration of this sentence weakens its sense by restricting his meaning to the Bishops, when he evidently intended to embrace all the preachers of the realm, which rendered his argument much stronger.

rye*, & y^e^ pliamẽte *had* so longe agone cõdescẽded† vnto yt‡: & there he intrupted me thus:

Ch. Tushe, *mã!* § y^t^ pliamẽte was, *of* moste greate crueltie, cõst^a^yned to abolishe & put away y^e^ p̃macie *of* y^e^ b. of R.

Ro. W^t^ crueltie? whie then, I pceave ye take a wronge way, w^t^ crueltie to perswade mens cõsciẽces, for it shuld appeare, by you^r^ doynges nowe, y^t^ y^e^ crueltie thẽ vsed hath not pswaded you^r^ cõsciẽces: how wold ye thẽ have ou^r^ cõsciẽces pswaded w^t^ crueltie?

Ch. I talke to *ye* of no crueltie, but y^t^ they were so oftẽ & so cruelly called vpõ, in y^t^ pliamẽte, to let y^t^ acte goo forwarde, yea, & even w^t^ force driven thervnto; whereas, in this pliamẽte, it was so vniformely received, § c̃t^a^, as is *more plaĩly beforesayd.*

L. p. Here my lorde pagette‖ told me more plainly what my L. ch: mente.

Whie then ¶, my L., what wyll yo^u^ cõclude therby? y^t^ y^e^ firste pliamente was of y^e^ lesse authoritie, *because* but few cõdescẽded vnto it, & this laste pliamẽte of greate authoritie, because moo cõdescẽded vnto it? it goeth not *by y'* ¶, my lorde, by y^e^ more or *lesse* pte, but by y^e^ wyser, truer & godlyer pte: § I wold have sayd more, but y^e^ L. ch: intrupted me *agayne* w^t^ his question, *to answer hym yet ones agayne;* for, sayd he, we have mo to speake w^t^ then *yo^u^*, w^ch^ muste come in after *ye:* & so there were, in dede, x. psones moo out of

* Both Gardiner and Tunstall had written as Rogers intimates. The latter, especially, in a sermon preached before Henry VIII., and published in 1539, argued strenuously against the supremacy of the Pope. It probably did not cause his judges to regard him any more leniently, to have their apostacy and notorious tergiversation thus publicly exposed. It became a common custom at the subsequent trials.

† I. e. consented, yielded, agreed to.

‡ This was the Parliament of 1535, which abolished the authority of the Pope in the kingdom, and declared Henry to be the supreme head of the Church. Gardiner himself had, by a solemn oath, voluntarily acknowledged this Act, and sworn fidelity to its requirements.

§ This ejaculation, "Tush, man!" of Gardiner's, is far more striking, and suggestive of his probable manner and bearing, than the single word retained by Foxe.

‖ William, first Lord Paget. See Note, p. 156.

¶ These two words were omitted by Foxe.

newgate, besydes ij. y^t^ were not called; of w^ch^ x. one was a citizen of londō, w^ch^ ḡ^a^ūted vnto them, & ix. of y^e^ *cōtrary**, w^ch^ all came to p̄^i^sō agayne, & refused y^e^ cardinalles blessinge & authoritie of his holy *fath*ˈ}, & *c̄t^a^*, savīge y^t^ one of these ix. was not asked y^e^ questiō otherwise thē thus — whethˈ} *y^t^* he wold be an honeste mā, as his father was before hym? & *he*, answerīge yea, was so discharged by y^e^ frēdshyppe of my L. w. howarde, as I *dyd vnderstande*†: he bad me tell hym what I wold do — whether *y^t^* I wold entre into one church w^t^ y^e^ whole realme, as it is nowe?‡

Ro. No, I wyll firste see yt proved by y^e^ scriptures: let me have pēne, ynke, & bookes, & c̄t^a^, & I wyll take vpō me *so* plainly to set furth y^e^ matter y^t^ y^e^ cōtrary *shuld* be proved to be true; & *let any mā cōferre w^t^ me y^t^ wold, by writinge.*§

Ch. Nay, y^t^ shall not be pmitted ye: y^u^ shalte never have so much profered y^e^ as y^u^ haste nowe, yf y^u^ refuse it — yf y^u^ wylte not now cōdescende & agree to y^e^ cath: church: *there* are ij. thinges, mercie & iustice: yf y^u^ refuse y^e^ quenes mercye now, thē shalte y^u^ have iustice ministred vnto ye.

Ro. I never offended nor was disobediente vnto her grace, *yet wyll I* not refuse her mercye: but yf this shalbe denyed, to cōferre by writinge, & *y^e^ way* to trye out the trueth, thē is it not well, but to farre out of y^e^ waye: ye your selves *all be they y^t^* broughte me to y^e^ knowledge of y^e^ p̄tēsed ‖ primacie of y^e^ b. of R., whā I was a yoūge mā, xx. yeares *agone*, & wyll ye now, w^t^out collation ¶, have me to say & do y^e^ cōt^a^rye? I cā not be so pswaded.

* Foxe, in 1563, substituted the word "country" for "contrary," and has been followed by his editors generally. The word in the MS. is unmistakably the latter, and Rogers evidently used it in reference to the conduct of the nine persons who refused to recant, in contradistinction to that of the tenth who yielded, and not to designate the sections to which they belonged.

† Foxe, so long as he lived, made Rogers responsible here for the words "have understanded," instead of the proper ones which he really did use.

‡ Foxe here adds the words "or not."

§ This whole sentence furnishes another instance where the petty alterations of Foxe greatly weaken the real sense.

‖ Pretensed, i. e. a corruption of "pretended," with a further meaning of deceptive, delusive, unsubstantiated.

¶ I. e. comparing or examining one thing with another: used by early writers as a synonym of "conference."

Ch. Yf y^{u} wylte not receave y^{e} b. of R. to be sup̄me head of y^{e} cath: church, thē *shalte y^{u}* never have her mercye, y^{u} maiste be sure: & as touchinge cōferrīge & tryall, I am forbyddē by y^{e} scriptures to vse any cōferringe & tryall w^{t} y^{e}; for s. paule teacheth me y^{t} I shall shūne & eschewe an heretike af^{t} one or ij. monitions, knowynge y^{t} such *a mā* is overthrowē & is fawtye, in *y^{t}* he is cōdēpned by his owne iudgemēte: tit^{o}. 3.*

Ro. My L., *nego assūptū.*† I denye *y^{t} ye take in hand to prove, y^{t} is to witte*†, y^{t} I am an heretike: prove ye y^{t} firste, & then alleage y^{e} aforesayd texte.

Ch. But still y^{e} L. ch: played on one strīge: yf y^{u} wilte entre into one‡ church *cath:* w^{t} vs, & c̄t^{a}, tell vs y^{t}, or elles y^{u} shalte never have so much profered ye agayne as y^{u} haste nowe.

Ro. I wyll fynde it fyrste in y^{e} scriptures, & see yt tryed therby, yer I receave hȳ to be sup̄me head.

B. of Worc. Whye, do yo^{u} not know what is in you^{r} crede — credo eccl̄iam. s. cath:?§

Ro. I fynde not y^{e} b. of R. there; for catholyke signifyeth not y^{e} romishe church: it signifyeth y^{e} cōsēte of all true teachīge churches of all tymes & of all ages: but how shuld y^{e} *romishe b.* be one of them, w^{ch} teacheth so many doctrines *w^{ch}* are plainly and directly agaīste y^{e} word of god? *shuld he be y^{e} head of y^{e} cath: church, y^{t} so doth?* y^{t} is not possible.

Ch. Shew me one of them, one, one, let me heare one.

Ro. I remēbred myselfe, y^{t} amonge so many I were beste to shew one. *Well, sayd I,* I wyll shew yo^{u} one.

Ch. Let me heare y^{t}.‖

* Titus iii. 10, 11.

† Interesting if not important omissions, inasmuch as they give us an inkling of Rogers' manner and aptness as a disputant.

‡ Modern editors of Foxe have substituted the word "our" for "one," as always used by him, and as also appears in the MS. By now restoring the word "catholic" (omitted by Foxe), the expression "one Church catholic" appears as one that was in common use, in those times, to designate what the Papists regarded as *the* Church, i. e. the only true Church. The phrase "our Church," so adopted, is weak and inexpressive.

§ Credo Ecclesiam sanctam catholicam.

‖ Foxe unnecessarily repeats this sentence.

Ro. Y^e^ b. of R. & his church saye, *synge, & read all y^t^ they do, in latin, in y^e^ cōgregatiō,* w^ch^ is directly & playnly agaīste *y^e^ worde of god, y^t^ is to wete, agaīste* y^e^ l. to y^e^ corēth: y^e^ 14^th^ ch.

Ch. I denye y^t^: I deny y^t^ y^t^ is agaīste y^e^ word of god*: let me see yo^u^ ꝑve y^t^: how prove yo^u^ y^t^?

R. Thus, q̄ I, & begāne to say y^e^ texte, qui loquitur lingua, & c̄l^a^: to speake w^t^ tonges is to speake w^t^ a straūge tonge, as latin or greke, & c̄l^a^, & so to speake is not to speake vnto mē, but to god.†

Ch. This he g̃^a^ūted, y^t^ they spake not vnto mē, but vnto God.

Ro. Well, thē yt is in vayne *to* mē.

Ch. No‡, for one mā speaketh in one tonge & an oth^er^ in an other‡, & all well.

Ro. Nay, I wyll prove *y^t^ thā neith^er^ to god no^r^ to mā, but to y^e^ wynde;* wyllynge§ to have declared how & af^t^ what sorte these ij. textes do agree,—for they muste agree—they

* The old reading of this sentence rendered it very indistinct, and it was not made much plainer by the interpolation of the word "it" by Foxe's editors. The difficulty is easily remedied by restoring the proper punctuation.

† With this entire passage Foxe made sad work. In a bungling attempt to render its sense more distinct, he contrived to cover it up and destroy it altogether, so that the editor of the edition of 1596 was obliged to designate it, in a marginal note, as an "imperfection" in the original MS.—a conclusion that has been accepted and repeated to this day. If Foxe had let it entirely alone, the meaning would have been clear enough. But to make the matter worse, having involved it in such mystery in his first edition, he evidently did not, in his subsequent ones, refer to the original with a view to elucidate it, but unwarrantably changed the identity of the speakers in the succeeding three paragraphs, making Rogers say what the Lord Chancellor actually said, and *vice versâ*, thus converting what was really a shrewd argument into absolute nonsense. This wretched blunder has been repeated so lately as in the edition of the British Reformers, published by the Religious Tract Society, concerning which it is but proper to say that it contains more errors, of greater or less magnitude, than can ordinarily be compressed within a volume of its size and pretensions. The object of Rogers was to entrap his interlocutors into an admission, the consequences of which they did not foresee, until he proposed to add the climax to his argument, when they sought their usual resort of a clamorous confusion.

‡ Foxe's interpolations here, although of no great importance, show the disposition to destroy the integrity of the original MS.

§ I. e. intending.

be both y^e^ sayinges of y^e^ holy goste, spokē by y^e^ apostle s. paule, *y^t^ is* to wytte, to speake not to mē but *to* god, & to speake into y^e^ wynde,—& so to have gone forward w^t^ y^e^ proofe of my *begōne matter:* here arose a noyse & cōfusiō.

Ch. To speake vnto god, & not vnto god, were vnpossible; sayd y^e^ L. ch.

Ro. I wyll prove them possible.

L. w. h. No, sayd my L. w. howarde to my L. ch:, now I wyll beare yo^u^ witnes (*what witnes it was, know all y^e^ godly wyse*)* y^t^ he is out of y^e^ way; for he g̃^a^ūted fyrste y^t^ they w^ch^ speake in a straūge speche speake vnto god, & now he sayth y^e^ cōt^a^ry, y^t^ they speake neither to god nor to mā.

Ro. I *have*† g̃^a^ūted, sayd I, turninge myselfe to my l. w. howarde, as ye reporte: I have alleaged y^e^ one texte, & now come to y^e^ other, & they muste agree, & I cā make them to agree; & as for yo^u^, ye vnderstand not y^e^ matter.‡

L. w. h. I vnd'stand so much, y^t^ *it* is not possible.

Secret: bowrne.§ This is a poynte of sophistrie.

Ch. Thē *my* L. ch: began to tell *my* L. w. howard, y^t^ whē he was in high ducheland, *they all,*‖ w^ch^ before had p̃^a^yed & vsed their service in duche, began thē to turne pte into latin & pte into duche.

B. of worcestre. Yea, & at whittenburge to, sayd my L. of worcestre.

* This parenthetical passage was entirely omitted by Foxe.

† By unwarrantably inserting here the word "not," Foxe makes Rogers guilty of the gross absurdity of destroying his own argument after it was perfected. This was the very point he sought to establish; the very admission he had induced his opponents to make. It will be perceived that the whole character of this colloquy is reversed by the alterations made by Foxe, and retained ever since.

‡ This was, perhaps, one of the sharp personalities in which Rogers allowed himself to indulge, and must be excused on account of the annoyance he experienced from one of whose intellectual abilities he does not seem to have entertained the highest opinion.

§ Sir John Bourne. See Note, p. 159.

‖ Foxe reads "they at Halle," making Gardiner specify a particular place, when it would seem that he designed to say that the custom to which he referred was general throughout Germany. The Bishop of Worcester immediately mentioned Wittenberg particularly, probably on account of Rogers' former residence there.

Ro. Yea, q̄ *I* (but I could not be heard for y^e^ noyse), in an Vniu̅sitie, where mē for y^e^ moste pte vnderstand y^e^ latin, & yet not all in latin; & wold have told y^e^ order, & *so* have gone forward both to have answered my L., & to have pved y^e^ thīge y^t^ I had takē in hand, but, pceivinge their talkynge & noyse *, was fayne to thinke thus in my hearte, suffringe them, in y^e^ meane tyme, to talke one one thīge & an oth᷑ an oth᷑: alas! neith᷑ wyll these mē heare me, yf I speake, neith᷑ wyll they suffer me to write: there is no remedye but let them alone, & cōmitte y^e^ matᵗ᷑ to god: yet I began to *have gone* forwarde, & sayd y^t^ I wold make y^e^ textes to agree, & pve all my purpose well inough.

Ch. No, no, y^u^ canste pve nothinge by y^e^ scripture: y^e^ scripture is dead & muste have a lively *expositiō*.†

Ro. No, *no*, y^e^ scripture is alive: but let me goo forward w^t^ my purpose.

*B. of worcest*ᵗ᷑. *Nay, nay*, all heretikes have alleaged y^e^ scriptures for them, & therfore muste we have a livelye *expositiō* for them.

Ro. Yea, all heretikes have alleaged y^e^ scriptures for them, but were cōfuted by y^e^ scriptures, & by none other expositours.

Worc. *Yea, but y^e^ heretikes* wold not cōfesse y^t^ they were overcome by y^e^ scriptures; I am sure of y^t^.

Ro. I beleve y^t^; yet were they overcome *therby*, & in all coūsaylls were disputed w^t^ & overthrowē by y^e^ scriptures: & here I wold have declared how they oughte to *have pceded* in these dayes, & so have come agayne to my purpose, but y^t^ was *īpossible*, *for* one asked one thinge, an other sayd an oth᷑, y^t^ I was fayne to hold my peace & let them talke: & whā I wold have taken holde on my proofe, *my* L. ch: bad to p̄^i^sō w^t^ me agayne.

Ch. Away, away, sayd he, we have moo to talke w^t^all: yf I wold not be reformed (*for* so he ſmed it), away, awaye.

Ro. Vp I stood, for I had kneled all y^e^ while.

S^r^ Ric. Sothw. Thē sayd syr Richad sothwell‡ vnto

* Foxe here needlessly interpolates the words "to be too noisome."

† Foxe reads "exposi*tor*," instead of "exposi*tion*."

‡ Sir Richard Southwell. See Note, p. 157.

me (w^ch stood in a windoe by),—y^u wylte not burne in this geare, whē it cōmeth to y^e purpose, I know well y^t.

Ro. S^r, I cā not tell, but I truste to my lord god, yes*; lyftīge vp myne eyes vnto heavē.

B. of elye. Thē my L. of elye†, *very gentelye, trulye* ‡, told me much of y^e q. maiesties pleasure & meaninge, & sette *out* y^t w^t large wordes, sayinge y^t she tooke them y^t wold not receave y^e b. of R. supmacie to be vnworthye to have her mercye, & cēt^a.

Ro. I sayd, I wold not refuse her mercye: I never offended her in all my lyfe, & I besoughte her grace & all her honours to be good vnto me, reservinge my cōsciēce.

S. burne. No,—q^r thē a greate sorte of them, & specially secretary bowrne,—a maryed prieste, & hath not offended y^e lawe! & cēt^a.

Ro. I sayd, y^t I had not broken y^e quenes lawe, nor any § lawe of y^e realme therin, for I maryed where it was lawfull.

* The custom of subsequent writers to paraphrase such passages as this, whatever may have been their motives, has often led to the perpetuation of error and injustice, and is much to be deprecated. Samuel Ward, a preacher of Ipswich, in his Life of Faith in Death, published in 1627, in referring to this incident, uses the following language: "John Rogers (said) to one that told him he would change his note at the fire, '*If I should trust in myself, I should so do; but I have determined to die, and God is able to enable me.*'" Now, Rogers said nothing of the kind. His real language is sublime in its very simplicity, and the confidence it expresses in the power and will of God to sustain him in such a trial, and does not deserve to be thrust aside for the weak platitudes above quoted.

† Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely. See Note, p. 158.

‡ The omission of these words by Foxe, which, it would seem, must have been intentional, is unpardonable. The character of this Bishop has come down to us in history as one of extreme mildness, and himself as almost the only one of his class, who, although compelled by his position to witness and even to take part in the proceedings against the Protestants, yet preserved his humanity, and deprecated the severities and sufferings which he could not control. By omitting these expressive words, Foxe leads us to conclude that Rogers placed him in the same category with his more savage associates on this and subsequent occasions, while it is evident that he took particular pains thus to distinguish him from them, for nowhere else does he record the fact that he was spoken to "very gently." Their restoration is alike just and honourable to both the Martyr and the Bishop, while it reflects additional discredit upon him who must have wantonly withheld them.

§ Foxe here inserts the words "point of the." They were not in his first edition, but he gratuitously added them in his subsequent ones.

S. bourne, &c. Where was y^t^? sayd they, thinkynge y^t^ to be vnlawfull in all places.

Ro. In ducheland; & yf ye had not here in england made an opē lawe y^t^ priestes myghte have wives *, I wold never have come home agayne: for I broughte a wyfe & viij. childrē w^t^ me, w^ch^ thinge they mighte be sure y^t^ I wold not have done, sayd I, had not y^e^ lawes of this realme pmitted yt before: thē was there a greate noyse, some sayinge y^t^ I was come to soone w^t^ such a sorte — I shuld fynde a sower cōmīge of it — & some one thinge & some an other.

One. And one sayd, I could never pceave well how y^t^ there was ever cath: mā or coūtree y^t^ ever graūted y^t^ a prieste mighte have a wyfe.†

Ro. Y^e^ cath: church never denyed mariage to prieste nor to any other mā, sayd I, & therew^t^ was goynge out of y^e^ chaūbre, y^e^ sergeaūte y^t^ broughte me thither havīge me by y^e^ arme.

Worcest. Thē y^e^ b. of worc: turned his face towardes me, & sayd y^t^ I wyste not where *y^e^* church was or is.

Ro. And I sayd, yes, y^t^ *could I well tell*‡; but therew^t^ wente y^e^ sergeaūte w^t^ me out y^e^ doore: this was y^e^ very true effecte of all y^t^ was spokē vnto me, & of all y^t^ I answered thervnto.

And here *I wold gladly have made* § a more pfecte answer to all y^e^ former obiections, &· also a due proofe of *all y^t^* I had takē in hand, but at this p̄sente I was informed y^t^ I

* Rogers refers to the Act passed in 1548 (2 & 3 Edward VI. c. 21), which repealed all previous "laws, canons, constitutions, and ordinances" prohibiting the marriage of ecclesiastics. A later Act (5 & 6 Edward VI. c. 12) defined more particularly the former one, and declared the legitimacy of all such marriages (and their issue) as had previously occurred.

† Notice what an entirely different construction Foxe's alterations and interpolations place upon this sentence. He attributes to Rogers, by a parenthesis, a portion of what was really said by one of the members of the Council.

‡ See Text and Note, pp. 336-7.

§ Rogers had, doubtless, stealthily, and at different times since his examination, written to this point; when, on the evening of the 27th of January, he was informed that he was to be again arraigned on the following morning. In the course of that night he therefore added the concluding paragraph, evidently (from its contents) hoping that he might be able to deliver the MS. into some friendly hand during the next day.

shuld *y^e^ nexte morne* come to further answer, wherfore I am cõpelled to leave out y^t^ w^ch^ I wold moste gladly have done; desyringe *herew^t^* y^e^ hearty & vnfayned helpe of y^e^ prayers of all christes true mẽbres — y^e^ true impes * of y^e^ true vnfayned cath: church — y^t^ y^e^ lord god of all cõsolatiõ wyll now be my cõforte, ayde, strength, buckler, & shield, & also of all my brethrẽ y^t^ are in y^e^ same case & distres; y^t^ I & they all may despice all maner of threttes & crueltye, & evẽ y^e^ bytter burninge fyer & dredfull darte of death, & sticke lyke true souldiours to ou^r^ deare & lovinge captayne christe, ou^r^ only redemer & saviou^r^, & also y^e^ only true head of y^e^ *cath:* church, y^t^ doth all in vs †, w^ch^ is y^e^ very ꝑptie of an head — *eph.* 1‡, *w^ch^ thinge* all y^e^ b. of R. cã not do; & y^t^ we *traitorously rũne not* out of his tentes, or rather out of y^e^ playne fyeld frõ hym, in y^e^ moste ieopdye of y^e^ battle, but § ꝑsever in y^e^ fyghte, yf he wyll not otherwyse delyver vs, tyll we be moste cruellye slayne of his ennemyes: for this I moste heartely, & at this ꝑsente, w^t^ wepinge teares, moste instantly & earnestly desyre & beseche you all praye: & also, yf I dye, to be good to *my poore wyfe, beynge a straũger*‖, & all my litle sowles, hers & my children; whõ, w^t^ all y^e^ whole faythfull & true cath: *church* ¶ of christe, y^e^ lorde of lyfe & death save, kepe, & defende, in all y^e^ troubles & assaultes of this vayne world, & bringe at y^e^ laste to eũlastinge salvatiõ, y^e^ true & sure inheritaũce of all ** christians: amẽ, amen.

Y^e^ 27^th^ †† of ianuarie at nighte.

* Imp: A graft, scion, shoot, offspring, or child — *Richardson.* The application of this word has materially changed since those days.

† Fox here interpolates the word "all."

‡ Ephesians i. 22.

§ Foxe here inserts "that we may."

‖ Foxe reads, most ridiculously, "my poor *and most honest* wife being a *poor* stranger."

¶ Foxe substitutes the word "congregation."

** Foxe reads "*crossed* Christians," thus violating the language and limiting the true sense of the expression.

†† Foxe inserts the word "day," which Rogers purposely omitted, as he designed to show that he was writing at *night.*

Y^e^ * CŌFESSIŌ OF IOHN ROGERS MADE & Y^t^ SHULD HAVE BENE MADE, YF I MIGHTE HAVE BENE HEARD, Y^e^ 28 & 29 OF IANUARIE, ANNO DNI. 1554.†

Firste, beinge asked agayne yf I wold come into one church w^t^ y^e^ byshoppes & *y^e^* whole realme, as was now cōcluded by pliamēte §· ‡ all y^e^ realme *beinge* ‡ cōverted to y^e^ cath: church of R., &c̄t^a^., & so receave y^e^ mercye before profered me—arisynge agayne w^t^ y^e^ whole realme out of y^e^ schisme and errou^r^ in w^ch^ we had longe bene—w^t^ recātation of myne errours, §· *c̄t^a^;* I answered y^t^, before, I could not well tell what *his* § mercy meante, but now I *vnderstand:* it was a mercye of y^e^ antichrīan church of rome, w^ch^ I vtterly refused; & y^t^ y^e^ arysinge *w^ch^* he spake of was a very fall into errou^r^ & false doctrine; §· y^t^ I had *bene* & wold be able, by godes grace, to prove y^t^ all y^e^ doctrine *y^t^ ever I had* taughte was true & cath:, & y^t^ by y^e^ scriptures & y^e^ authoritie of y^e^ fathers y^t^ lyved 400 yeares af̄ *y^e^ death of Christe,* §· *c̄t^a^.*

Ch. Y^t^ shuld not, *nor mighte, or oughte to* be graūted me, *q^a^ he,* for I was but a private mā, & mighte not be heard agaīste y^e^ determinatiō of y^e^ whole realme: shuld, whā a pliamēte hath cōcluded a thinge, one or any private pson have authoritie to discusse whether *y^t^* they had done righte or wronge? no, y^t^ may not be.

Ro. I answered, shortlye, y^t^ all y^e^ lawes of *mā mighte not rule y^e^ worde of god, nor could not,* but y^t^ they all muste be discussed & iudged therby, & obey therto, & my cōscience nor no *christians* coulde be satisfyed w^t^ such lawes as disagreed *tharfrō,* §· *c̄t^a^,—waytinge* to have sayd much more.

Ch. But y^e^ L. ch: began a *longe tale to a* very small purpose cōcerninge myne answer, *but* defaced me, y^t^ there was

* Foxe interpolates the word "second," which was unnecessary, as Rogers was continuing his former account.

† Old Style—1555.

‡ For "and" Foxe reads "in the which," and for "being" reads "was," making sheer nonsense of what is, in the original, a sensible passage.

§ Rogers was addressing the Lord Chancellor. Foxe reads "this," in 1563.

nothinge wherfore I shuld be heard, but arrogācye, & pryde, & vayne glorye, & cētª.

Ro. I also graūted myne *ignoraūce* to be greater thē I coulde expresse, or thē he tooke it, but *yet feared* not, by godes assistēce and strēgth, to be able by wrytinge to pfourme my worde; neither *was, I thanked god therfore,* so vtterly ignoraūte as he wold *have made* me, but all was of god, to whō be thankes rendred therfore: prowde mā was I neū *none,* nor yet vayne glorious: all yᵉ world knew well, *sayd I,* where & on wᶜʰ syde pryde, arrogācye, & vayne glory was: it was a poore pryde yᵗ was or is in vs, god it knoweth, *sayd I.**

Ch. Thē *he sayd,* yᵗ I at yᵉ firste dashe cōdēpned yᵉ quene & yᵉ whole realme to be of yᵉ church of ātichriste, & burdened me highlye therwᵗall.

Ro. I answered, yᵗ yᵉ quenes maiestie (god save her grace!) wold have done well inough, yf it had not bene for his coūsell.

Ch. He sayd, yᵉ quene wente before hym, & *yᵗ* it was her owne motion.

Ro. I sayd, I *could nor wold never* beleve it.†

B. of carlil. Thē sayd Doctor aldriche, yᵉ b. of karlill‡, *yᵗ yᵉ* bishoppes wold beare hym witnes.

Ro. Yea, qᵈ I, *I* believe well; & wᵗ yᵗ yᵉ people laughed: for yᵗ day *were many there,* but on yᵉ morowe they had kepte yᵉ doores shutte, & wold let none in but yᵉ bishoppes adherentes & servaūtes, *in maner.*§

* None of the alterations in this and the preceding two paragraphs are of great importance, but the original certainly reads quite as well as the attempted improvement.

† Foxe's effort to increase the force of this expression is a failure. Rogers' own simple, unexaggerated, but evidently unhesitating and honest words are by far the most powerful.

‡ Robert Aldrich, Bishop of Carlisle. See Note, p. 165.

§ The line added here by Foxe is an unjustifiable interpolation. It is not probable that a thousand spectators could have been crowded into the Lady Chapel of St. Mary Overy's, where it is believed the examination took place. It was quite enough to know that, as Rogers wrote, there were "many" present. This surreptitious passage has been often quoted, and, as it now appears, improperly attributed to Rogers.

Mr. Cōt. & secret: bourne. Then m^r cōtroller * & secretary bourne, *they* wold have stand vp also to beare *hym* witnes, and dyd.

Ro. I sayd, it was no greate matt^r;—&, to say y^e *trueth, thoughte* y^t they were good *helpes* therto thēselves, *& as greate impellers & movers of y^e q. therto as was y^e L. ch.* †: but I *sayd nothinge* therin, knowynge y^t they were to strōge & mightie of power, & y^t they shuld be beleved before me, *yea, before* ou^r saviou^r christe, and all his ꝑphettes & apostles thereto in these dayes.

Ch. Then, aft^r many wordes, he asked me what I *meante* ‡ cōcerninge y^e sac^amēte? & stood vp, & put of his cappe, & all his felow bishoppes, of w^ch there were a greate sorte new mē *w^ch I knew not,—many of them askynge* § whether I beleved in y^e sac̄: to be y^e very body & blowd of ou^r saviou^r christe, y^t was borne of y^e virgin marye & hanged on y^e crosse, *really, substātially, &c̄t^a?*

Ro. I answered, *y^t* I had *ofte tymes* tolde hym y^t it was a matter in w^ch I was no medler, and therfore suspected of my brethrē to be of a cōtrary opinion: *but seynge y^e falsehod of their doctrine in all other poyntes,* & y^e defence therof only by force & crueltye, *thoughte their doctrine in this matter* to be as false as y^e reste; *for christe could not be corpallye there, & I could not otherwise vnderstand really & substātially to signifie thē corpallye, & so could not christe be there & in heavē also:* ‖ & here I sōwhat set out his charitie after this sorte: my L. q^r I, ye have dealte w^t me moste cruelly; for ye have *sente*

* Sir Robert Rochester. See Note, p. 173.

† Foxe omits the whole of this italicized sentence, and so alters the words and the arrangement of the entire paragraph of which it forms a part, that Rogers would seem to have *said* what he clearly says he only *thought.*

‡ Foxe substitutes the weaker word "thought." Of course, Gardiner knew very well what Rogers *thought* concerning the Sacrament, and his object was to ascertain what he intended publicly to avow on this occasion.

§ Foxe does not here express the true meaning of Rogers, and also omits some words which show how important all the Bishops regarded his answer to Gardiner's question.

‖ Without deteriorating much from the effect of the original, Fox's reconstruction of this entire paragraph was wholly unnecessary, and at least misrepresents the style of the writer.

me to presō w'out lawe & agaīste lawe *, & kepte me there almoste a yeare & a halfe; for I was almoste halfe a yeare in my howse, where I was obediente vnto yo^u, god it knoweth, and spake w^t no mā; & now have bene a full yeare in newgate, at greate coste & charges, havinge *therto* † a wife & x. childrē to fynde, — & I had never peny of my lyvinges, *neither of y^e prebende, nor of y^e residence, neither of y^e vicarage of sepulchres* ‡, agaīste ye lawe.

Ch. He answered, y^t D.§ ridley, *y^t* had gevē them me, was an vsurper, and therfore I was y^e vniuste *possessioner therof.*

Ro. Was y^e kynge, thā, an vsurper, q^r I, *y^t* gave D. ridley y^e b.rike?‖

Ch. Yea, q^r he, & begā to set out y^e wronges y^t y^e K. had done *thē both,— I meane y^e b. of Londō & to hȳselfe;* but yet, q^r he, I misvse my ^tmes¶ to call y^e K. vsurper: but y^e worde was gone out of y^e abūdāce of y^e hearte before, & I thīke y^t he was not very soorye for yt.** I mighte have sayd more cōcernīge y^t matter, & *also cōcerninge sepulchers* ††, but dyd not.

Ro. I asked hym, wherfore he *sente me to* ‡‡ prison?

* Here the force of the language is greatly weakened by Foxe. Rogers and his companions claimed not only that there was no statute justifying their imprisonment, but also that their persecutors acted in violation of the laws that entitled them to their liberty, and this was the double charge he now brought against them.

† I. e. in addition.

‡ Another unpardonable omission by Foxe, as these words, though few, afford us the following important information:—1st. That Rogers held the preferments specified at the time of his incarceration, and did not acknowledge that he had even yet been legally deprived of them; 2dly. That during the past year, at least, the income from those livings had been entirely withheld from him; and 3dly. That his family had probably been ejected from his Prebendal residence attached to St. Paul's, where he appears to have lived until he was sent to Newgate. It is possible, however, that his reference to "the Residence" meant some income derived from it, and that his family had occupied the Vicarage house attached to St. Sepulchre's.

§ Doctor, or Bishop Ridley. The letters D. and M., and the contractions "D^r." and "M^r," throughout the MS., stand for "Doctor" and "Master."

‖ Bishopric.

¶ Terms.

** Foxe needlessly adds the words "in heart."

†† Another of Foxe's omissions. Rogers does not give us elsewhere any explanation of this somewhat mysterious insinuation.

‡‡ Foxe reads "set me in."

Ch. He sayd, because I preached againste y^e^ quene.

Ro. I answered, y^t^ *was not so* *, & I wold be bownde to prove, & † stand to y^e^ tryall of y^e^ lawe, y^t^ no mā shuld be able to prove yt, & thervpō wold set my lyfe. I p̄ched, q^z^ I, a sermō at y^e^ crosse, aft̄ y^e^ quene came to y^e^ tower, but therin was nothinge sayd agaīste y^e^ quene; *witnes to* ‡ all y^e^ audience, w^ch^ was not small: & § y^t^ he had, aft̄ examinatiō, let me goo at libertie,— aft̄ y^e^ preachīge of *y^e^* sermō.

Ch. Yea, but y^u^ diddeste read thy lectures ‖, agaynste y^e^ cōmaūdemēte of y^e^ coūsell.

Ro. Y^t^ dyd I not: let y^t^ be p̄ved & let me dye for yt! thus have ye now, agaīste y^e^ law of god & mā, handled me, & never sente for me, never cōferred w^t^ me, never *spake* of any learnīge, till nowe, y^t^ *yow* have gottē a whippe to whippe me w^t^, & a sweord to cut of my necke, yf I wyll not cōdescēde vnto you^r^ mynde: this charitie doth all y^e^ world vnderstand.

I mighte & wold have added, yf I *mighte* have bene suffred to speake, y^t^ it had bene tyme inough to take awaye mens lyvinges, and therto to have prisoned them, aft̄ y^t^ they had offended lawes,—for they be good citizens y^t^ breake not lawes, & worthy of p̄^a^yse, & not of punishemēte,—*but it was to much, & these wordes I spake:* to kepe mē in presō so longe, till they *mighte* catche *a mā in y^e^ lawe, & so kyll hym.* ¶ I could & wold have added y^e^ exāple of daniel, w^ch^, by a craftye devised lawe, was caste into y^e^ lyons denne. Itm̄, I mighte have declared y^t^ I moste hūblye desyred to be set at libertye,— sendinge my wyfe *vnto* hym w^t^ a supplicatiō (beīge greate w^t^ childe), & w^t^ her viij. honeste weomē, or therabout, to richemonte **, at christemas was a twelvemoneth, while I was yet in my howse. Itm̄, I wrote ij. supplications to hȳ

* Foxe reads "it was not true."

† Foxe substitutes "prove it and to stand to," which changes the sense of the passage.

‡ Foxe reads "I take witness of."

§ Foxe reads "I alledged also."

‖ Foxe inserts "after (quoth he)."

¶ Foxe has also mystified these two or three lines, and makes Rogers write privately what he said publicly.

** Richmond.

of of* newgate, & sente † my wyfe *vnto hym many tymes:* m^r gosnold ‡ also, y^t worthye mā, who is now depted in y^e lorde, laboured for me, & so dyd *many* other worthy mē also take paynes in y^e matter: these thinges declare my *L.*§ antichristiā charitie ‖, — y^t he hath & doth seke my blood, & y^e destructiō of my poore wyfe &· *x.* children: this *was y^e* shorte sūme of y^e wordes ¶ spokē *y^e firste day* **, y^e 28. †† of ianuarye, at afᵗ noone, afᵗ y^t m^r hoper had bene y^e firste, & cardmaker y^e seconde‡‡,—*w^ch forsooke vs, &· stake not to his tackle, but shranke frō vnder y^e bāner of ou^r m^r &· captayne christe: y^e Lorde graūte hym to returne &· fyghte w^t vs,* till we be

* Sic. "Out of" is evidently intended. This is the only instance in the MS. where an apparent error of the transcriber occurs.

† This furnishes the only ground for presuming that Rogers had, while in prison, any communication with his family, by which he might have learned of the existence of his eleventh child. But, knowing the extreme restraint under which he was kept, we may reasonably make other explanations of this passage. These visits of his wife to Gardiner may have taken place very soon after he was sent to Newgate, in January 1554, and before the birth of the child whose expected advent he referred to, when he spoke of her as going to Richmond on the preceding Christmas. Of her successful maternity he may, therefore, never have heard, and so, with a sacred regard for truth, claimed only the ten children of whom he certainly knew. It is, also, not impossible that he may have been able to send occasional messages to his family, but have been strictly prevented from receiving any in return. And again, as has been before stated, when he speaks of *sending* his wife, he may have only meant that he was aware of her repeated applications to Gardiner, and that he approved of them.

‡ John Gosnold. See Note, p. 132.

§ Foxe reads "my lord chancellor's."

‖ Foxe inserts "which is."

¶ Foxe inserts "which were."

** Omitted by Foxe.

†† Foxe inserts "day."

‡‡ Foxe here adds the words "in examination before me." He then omits entirely the succeeding sentences in italics, relating to the defection of Cardmaker, supplying their place with the following: "*The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause,* till," &c. For this, his most earnest apologists can offer no satisfactory excuse, as Foxe himself, in other portions of his work, refers to Cardmaker's conduct on this occasion in no very flattering terms. Surely, the language of Rogers concerning it throws new light upon his own character, for he must have felt grieved at this exhibition of weakness, and yet mentions it in the most mild and Christian spirit. Foxe's omission, therefore, instead of protecting the memory of Cardmaker, tended only to detract from the respect due to that of Rogers.

smitten downe together, yf y^e^ lordes wyll be so to pmitte it; for *yet* shall not an heare of ou^r^ heades pishe agaīste his wyll, but w^t^ his wyll: whervnto, y^e^ same lorde graūte vs to be obediente vnto y^e^ ende, & in y^e^ ende, amē; swete, mightie, & m̄cifull lorde iesu, y^e^ sōne of dauid & of god! *amē;* let eu̅y true christiā say & p̄^a^ye.

Ch. And thē, about iiij. of y^e^ clocke *, *y^e^ L. ch: sayd, y^t^ he muste yet vse with me charitie of y^e^ church* † (what maner of charitie, *do all true christians well vnd'stand, y^t^ is,* y^e^ same y^t^ y^e^ foxe doth w^t^ y^e^ chickens, & y^e^ wolfe w^t^ y^e^ lambes), & gave respite till *y^e^ nexte* morowe, to see *yf* I wold remēbre my selfe well, come to y^e^ cath: (so he calleth his antichristiā, false) church againe, & repente, & they wold receave me to mercye.

Ro. I sayd, y^t^ I was never out of y^e^ true cath: church, nor *ever* ‡ wold be; but into his church wold I, by gods g̃^a^ce, never come.

Ch. Well, thē, is ou^r^ churche false & antichristian?

Ro. Yea.

Ch. And what is y^e^ doctrine of y^e^ sac̄:?

Ro. False, q̄ I, & caste my handes abroad: thē sayd one, y^t^ I was a player; to whō I answered not, *not passinge of* § his mocke.

Ch. Come agayne to morowe, betwixte 9. & 10.

Ro. I am ready to come agayne, whēsoeu̅ ye call: & *so* was I broughte by̆ y^e^ shiriefes to y^e^ coūter in southwarke ‖,

* Foxe makes Rogers "guess" at the hour, although he states it positively.

† Foxe reads, "he and the Church must yet use charity with me," which is an utter perversion of what Gardiner said and Rogers wrote. The "charity of the Church," to which the Lord Chancellor referred, consisted in allowing persons in Rogers' position three distinct opportunities for recantation and submission. This was only his second, and he was therefore to be remanded to another day. Of course, in this case, it was a ridiculous form; but Gardiner was a great stickler for forms, and it enabled him to give an outward religious character to the real sentiments by which he was actuated.

‡ "Ever" omitted by Foxe.

§ Foxe reads, "for I passed not upon," &c. The meaning is evidently that he regarded or cared not for his mocking.

‖ The Compter in Southwark. Down to the year 1541, the parishes of St. Margaret and St. Mary Magdalen adjoined each other, but were that year united, by Act of Parliament, under the name of St. Saviour. The old parish church of St. Margaret was converted into an assize or sessions house, one

m^r hoper* goynge before me, & a greate multitude of people,—beinge *pressed*† *so*, y^t we had much *adoo*‡ to goo in y^e streates; thus much was done y^e 28^th^ of ianuarye.

Y^e 29^*th*^, *about* 9 *of y^e clocke, we were sente for in y^e morninge* §, & by y^e shyriefes fetched frō y^e coūter in southwarke to y^e church agayne, *y' is*, to S. marie-over-y^e^-waye ‖, where we were y^e day before ¶; & whē m^r hoper was cōdēpned, as I vnderstood afterward, thē sente they for me.

Ch. And y^e L. c^h^ sayd vnto me, Rogers, here y^u^ waste yesterday, & we gave *ye* libertie to remēbre thy selfe this nighte, whether *y'* y^u^ woldeste come to y^e holy cath: church of christe agayne or not: tell vs now what y^u^ haste determined,—whether *y'* y^u^ wilte be repētaūte & soorye, & wilte returne *& take mercye agayne?*

Ro. My L., I have remēbred my selfe righte well, what *ye* yesterday layd fo^r^ yo^u^**, & desyre yo^u^ to geve me leave to declare my mynde — what I have to saye thervnto — & y^t^ done, I shall answer yo^u^ to you^r^ demaūded questiō: whē I yesterday desyred y^t^ I myghte be suffred, by y^e^ scriptures & y^e^ authoritie of y^e^ firste, beste, & pureste church, to defend my doctrine by writinge,—meaninge not *only y^e^ p̄'macye, &c̄ĩ^a^*, but *also all* y^e^ doctrine y^t^ ever I had preached,—ye *answered*, *y'* it mighte not no^r^ oughte *to* be graūted me, for I was a private *man* †† (*truthe it is, q̄ I* ‡‡); & y^t^ y^e^ pliamēte was

portion of it being used as a prison, and called the Compter in Southwark. It was in the immediate vicinity of St. Mary Overy's church. The Compter was afterwards removed to Mill Lane, Tooley Street.

* Bishop Hooper. See p. 178.

† Foxe substitutes the word "present," without improving the sense, but rather weakening it.

‡ Foxe reads "to do."

§ Rogers here says in one line that for which Foxe requires two.

‖ St. Mary-over-the-way — St. Mary Overy. Was this the original nomenclature? The contraction, especially as Rogers wrote it, would be very simple and natural. Among the various explanations hitherto given, none seems so probable as this.

¶ Foxe here inserts a very unnecessary explanation.

** This is a singular expression, and some of Foxe's editors have substituted "said to me;" but it is plainly "laid for you" in the MS., and Foxe himself always retained it in that form.

†† Foxe reads "person."

‡‡ This sentence in parenthesis was omitted by Foxe.

above *all* y^e^ authoritie of all p̃ivate psones, & *miyhte not have y^e^ sentence therof fownde fawtye by me**, beinge but a private psō: & yet, my L., I am able to shew exāples, y^t^ one mā hath come into a gn̄all coūcell, & aft *y^t^* ye whole *coūcell* had determined & agreed vpō an acte or article, *y^t^ one* mā cōmīge in afterwarde hath, by y^e^ worde of god, declared so pithelye y^t^ y^e^ coūcell had erred in decreynge y^e^ sayd article, y^t^ he cawsed y^e^ whole coūcell to *alter & chaūge* their acte or article before determined; & of these exāples I am able to shew ij. I cā also shew y^e^ authoritie of s. austē†, y^t^, whē he disputed w^t^ an heretike, *neither wold have hȳselfe nor* y^e^ heretike to leane *to* y^e^ determinatiō of ij. former coūcells, of y^e^ w^ch^ y^e^ one made for hym & y^e^ oth for y^e^ heretike y^t^ disputed agaīste hym, but sayd y^t^ he wold have y^e^ scriptures to be their iudge, w^ch^ were cōmō‡ & indifferēte for thē both, & not pper‡ to either of them. Itm̄, I could shewe y^e^ authoritie of a learned lawyer panormitan§, w^ch^ sayth y^t^ vnto a simple lay mā, y^t^ brīgeth y^e^ word of god w^t^ hym, there oughte more credite to be gevē, thē to a whole coūcell gathered togeth, *w'out y^e^ scriptures*‖: *these thinges well* prove y^t^ I oughte not to be denyed to say my mynde, & to be heard agaīste a whole pliamente,—bringīge y^e^ word of god for me,

* Foxe transposes the words in this sentence to no good purpose, and reads "faulty and *valureless*." The latter word does not appear in the MS.

† St. Augustine. Contra Maximin. lib. ii. (olim iii.) cap. 14, § 3.

‡ "Common" and "proper."

§ Panormitanus. (Extrav. de Appel. cap. Significati. Bishop Jewel quotes the passage in his *Defence of the Apology*, part iv. chap. 12, divis. 2.) The person known by this name was Nicholas Tudeschi, who was born in Sicily, about 1386. He became Abbot of St. Benedict in Palermo, and subsequently Archbishop of that city, whence this appellation. He was one of the most noted canonists of the fifteenth century, and took an active part in the Councils and controversies of his times. He is represented as not always having been exactly consistent, but his devotion to the doctrine of the Pope's supremacy, both spiritual and temporal, rendered him the strongest authority Rogers could have quoted, while, in doing so, he displayed his own erudition. He died in 1445.—See Aikin, Dupin, Bellarmine, Lenfant's *Hist. du Conc. de Basle*, &c.

‖ It is inconceivable how Foxe could have omitted these three words, unless he intended to represent Rogers as speaking and writing nonsense, which the whole sentence is, without them. It might, perhaps, be regarded as an accidental oversight, had he not so carefully altered the commencement of the very next sentence, which required no alteration, and was materially weakened by it.

& y^e^ authoritie of y^e^ olde church, 400 yeares aft̄ christe, albeyt, y^t^ eu̇y mā in y^e^ pliamēte had willingly, & w^t^out respecte of feare & favou^r^, agreed *therto* (w^ch^ thinge I doubted not a litle of*); specially seynge *y^t^* y^e^ lyke had bene pmitted in *y^e^* old church, evē in g̃nall coūcells, yea, & y^t^ in one of y^e^ *chiefe* coūcelles y^t^ ever was, vnto w^ch^ neith̄ any *of ou^r^ actes of*† pliamēte, *for y^e^ moste parte*‡, nor yet of y^e^ late g̃nall coūcelles of y^e^ bishoppes of R., oughte to be cōpared: for let h. 8.§ call a pliamēte, & begīne to det̄mine a thinge (q̄ I, & wold have alleaged y^e^ exāple of y^e^ acte makynge y^e^ q. a bastarde‖, & of makynge hȳselfe sup̄me head,—but could not, beīge int̄rupted of one S^r^ anthonie browne¶, whō god forgeve), thē wyll *yo^u^* (appoyntīge ** to my L. ch:), & ye, & ye, & *sic de singulis*†† (appoyntīge to y^e^ reste of y^e^ bishoppes), saye, amē; yea, & it lyke you^r^ g̃^a^ce, it is mete y^t^ it *so be* enacted, &c̄t^a^. ‡‡

Ch. Here, my L. ch: wold suffre me to speake no more: he bad me sitte downe, mockinglye sayinge y^t^ I was §§ for to be instructed of them, & I wold take vpō me to be their instructou^r^.

* Evidently this sentence alone should be parenthetical, though Foxe includes the succeeding ones down to the word "compared."

† Foxe says, "any Acts of this Parliament," while Rogers spoke of the English Parliaments generally.

‡ Omitted by Foxe, although Rogers designed to except some of the Acts of the English Parliament.

§ Henry VIII. Rogers is stating a supposititious case, easily enough comprehended, although Foxe appears to have thought that it required his elucidations.

‖ The Act of 1533 (25 Henry VIII. c. 22) established the succession in the children of Anne Boleyn, and thus virtually rendered illegitimate the present Queen, the daughter of Queen Catharine; but Rogers probably referred to the Act of 1536 (28 Henry VIII. c. 7), in which the terms were more definite and positive.

¶ Sir Anthony Browne. See note, p. 180. Foxe removes his name from the text and places it in the margin.

** Pointing.

†† Foxe reads, "so you all."

‡‡ The foregoing was a bit of pleasantry on the part of Rogers, but contained a severe sarcasm that appears to have been felt and instantly resented.

§§ Foxe here introduces the word "sent" — almost the only instance throughout the entire MS. where an emendation of his is serviceable, and it is a gratification to give him credit for it.

Ro. My L., I stand, & sitte not: shall I not be suffred to speake for my lyfe?

Ch. Shall we suffre *ye* to tell a tale, & to prate? qꝝ he, &* stood vp, & begā to *deface* † me, aft̄ his old arrogaūte, prowde fashion, *markinge* ‡ y^t I was in a way to have touched them sōwhat, w^ch thīge he *wold hynder, & dashe* § me out of my tale; & so he dyd, for I could neū be suffred to come to my tale agayne, no, not to one worde of it: but he had much lyke cōicatiō ‖ w^t me as he had y^e day before, &, *as is accustomable to hym* ¶, taūte for taūte, & checke for checke; for in y^t case, beinge godes cause, I told hym he shuld not make me afrayd to speake.

Ch. See what a spirite this felow hath! sayd he, fyndynge faulte at myne accustomed earnestnes & hearty maner of speakynge.

Ro. I have a true spirite, *sayd* I, agreinge & obeinge *to* y^e word of god; & wold further have sayd y^t I was neū y^e worse, but y^e better, to be earneste in a *true, iuste* cause, & in my m^r christes matters; but mighte not be heard, & at y^e length he proceded *further to* ** his excōicatiō & cōdēpnatiō ††, aft̄ y^t I had tolde hym y^t his church of rome was y^e church of antichriste,—meaninge y^e false doctrine, & *y^e* tyrānicall lawes & maintenaūce *therof*, & cruell psecutiō vsed by y^e sayd church (of *y^e* w^ch y^e b. of wīchest̄, & y^e reste of his felow bishoppes y^t are now in england, are y^e chiefe mēbres), not all y^e mē & weomē in y^e popes church. ‡‡ *Itm̄*, whē I was sayd to have denyed *y^e* sac^amēte,—wherof he made his wonte reverente mētion §§, more to maynteyn his kyngdō

* Foxe inserts, "with that he."

† Foxe reads "face." "Deface" is a better old word, more elegant, but equivalent to the modern "bully."

‡ Foxe substitutes "for he perceived."

§ Foxe reads "thought to hinder by dashing."

‖ Communication.

¶ Foxe reads "as his manner is."

** Foxe substitutes "towards."

†† Excommunication and condemnation.

‡‡ Notice how Foxe contrived to confuse the few lines ending here, which are clear enough in the original.

§§ I. e., taking off his cap. This was a ceremony which Gardiner invariably performed when the real presence was spoken of, and was supposed to be a

therby thē for y^e^ true reverēce of christes institutiō — more for his owne & his popishe generations sake thē for religiō or godes sake,—I told hym aft̄ what ordre*, for y^e^ maner of his speakinge was not agreinge *w^t^* my wordes, w^ch^ are before recited in y^e^ cōicatiō y^t^ we had *in* y^e^ 28 of ianuarie; wherw^t^ he was not cōtented, & asked y^e^ audiēce wheth̄ *y^t^* I had not *sīplicit̄* † denyed y^e^ sac^a^mēte? & they wold have sayd & dyd what he lusted, for y^e^ moste of them were of his owne servaūtes at y^t^ day,—y^e^ 29 day ‡, I meane: *at y^e^ last, I wyll neu̇ denye it, q̄ I, y^t^ I sayd* y^t^ you^r^ doctrine of y^e^ sac̄: is false, but yet I tell yo^u^ after what ordre I sayd it: to be shorte, he redde my cōdēpnatiō before me, pticulerly mētionīge therin but ij articles,—y^t^ y^e^ Romishe cath: churche is y^e^ church of antichriste, & y^t^ I denyed y^e^ realitie of *y^e^* sac̄:, &c̄t^a^: he cursed me to be disgraded §, & cōdēpned *to be* put into y^e^ handes of y^e^ *laye, & gave* me over into y^e^ shierifes handes (w^ch^ were much bett̄ thē his) ‖, & sente vs to y^e^ clynke ¶, there to remayne *to* nighte; & whē it was darke caryed vs, w^t^ bylles & weapons inough, & out of y^e^ clynke led vs throwgh y^e^ b. howse**, & so through s. marye over y^e^ wayes church yarde,

token of reverence similar to that now used when repeating the Saviour's name in the Creed; but Rogers does not appear to have had much confidence in the honesty of his motives.

* Foxe adds "I did speak of it."

† Simpliciter: Foxe reads "simply."

‡ Foxe adds "of January."

§ This expression is commonly read "*caused* me to be *degraded*," which is evidently less than the words mean. Gardiner was pronouncing upon Rogers the *great curse* of his church, to which the language doubtless has reference.

‖ Here Foxe interrupts the narrative, according to the MS., in order to introduce the sentence pronounced by Gardiner (which will be found on page 418), and, in resuming it, makes sundry explanations not in the original, but of which it is not necessary to complain, as they do not materially affect the sense.

¶ The Clink—a small place of confinement on the Bankside; so called from its being the prison of the Clink Liberty, or manor of Southwark, belonging to the Bishops of Winchester. It was used chiefly for the reception of disorderly persons and other petty offenders. It stood at the corner of Maid Lane, and was abandoned about 1745, having become unsafe from decay. Its successor, also on the Bankside, was burnt during the riots in 1780, after which no other was established.

** Winchester House — the residence of the Bishops of Winchester—a magnificent palace, of which there are now very few, if any, vestiges remaining. It was converted into a prison for the royalists in 1642, and passed into

& so into southwarke, & over y^e^ bridge, on ꝑcessiō, to newgate, through y^e^ citie.

Ch. Whē he had redde *his* cōdēpnatiō, he declared y^t^ I was in y^e^ greate Curse, & what a vēgeable *, daūgerous matter it *were* to eate & drinke w^t^ vs, or to gyve vs any thinge; for all y^t^ so dyd shuld be ꝑtakers of y^e^ same greate Cursse.

Ro. Well, my L., q^z^ I, here I stande before god, & *yo^u^ all* this honorable audience, & take hȳ to witnes, y^t^ I never wittinglye & willingly taughte any false doctrine, & therfore *I have* a good cōsciēce before god & *before* all good mē; *& am not aferde but*† y^t^ yo^u^ & I shall come before a iudge *w^ch^* is rightuous, before whō I shalbe as good a mā as yo^u^, & *where*, I nothinge doubte, I shalbe fownde a true mēbre of y^e^ cath: church, & eūlastīgly saved‡: & as for you^r^ false church, y^e^ nede not to excōicate me *thereout*§; I have not bene in it these xx. yeares, y^e^ lorde be *p̄'ysed*‖ therfore! but now ye have done *y^t^* ye cā, my L., I p̄^a^ye yo^u^ g̃^a^ūte me one thinge yet.

Ch. What is *y^t^?*

Ro. Y^t^ my poore wyfe, beinge a straūger, may come & speake w^t^ me so lōge as I lyve: for she hath x. childrē y^t^ are hers & myne, & sōwhat I wold coūsell her what were beste *to doo for her.*

Ch. No: she is not thy wyfe.

Ro. Yes: my L., & hath bene these xviij. yeares.

Ch. Shuld I graūte her to be thy wyfe?

Ro. Chewse, whether yo^u^ wyll or not: she shalbe so, never y^e^ lesse.

Ch. She shall not come at ye, q^z^ he.

private hands in 1649. It was afterwards recovered by the Bishop, at the Restoration, but was never again used as the Residence. It possessed a park of about sixty or seventy acres, but the entire site is now covered by wharves, warehouses, manufactories, and other buildings.

* Vengeable. Halliwell defines this word as revengeful, or cruel. It would here seem to imply criminal, or deserving of punishment.

† Foxe reads "I am sure that."

‡ Foxe's petty interferences with the whole of this preceding passage come under the description of what Mr. Townsend aptly, if not elegantly, calls "needless tinkering."

§ Foxe reads "forth of it."

‖ Praised. Foxe weakens the expression by substituting "thanked."

Ro. Thē *have I* tryed out all youʳ charitie, sayd I: ye make youʳ*selves* highly displeased wᵗ yᵉ matrimonie of priestes, but ye mayntein their opē whordome,—as in wales, where eu̅y prieste hath his hoore opēly dwellinge wᵗ hym*, evē as youʳ holy father suffreth *in all duchelande, & in fraūce, yᵉ priestes to do yᵉ lyke:* therto he answered not, but looked as it were a squinte at yt: & thus depted I, & sawe hȳ laste.†

But now, dearly beloved, heare what I wold have sayd further, & what I had devised yᵉ nighte before, ptely, as yᵉ lord knoweth, wᵗ sighinge & teares, ptely wᵗ p̄ʳyer, & ptely by imagininge in my mynde afu̅ what order I wolde speake, whē I shuld come before yᵉ foresayd iudges: ‡ *yᵉ begin̄ige ye have before heard: now heare how I was vtu̅ly purposed to have proceaded.*

As in h. y eightes dayes, ye in youʳ pliamentes folowed only his wyll & pleasure, even to graūte yᵉ q. maⁱᵉ to be a bastard §, *(god it well knoweth, agaīste youʳ willes, &, as ye well knowe, agaīste yᵉ willes of yᵉ whole realme, for yᵉ moste pte, & yᵗ of all states, riche & poore, sp̄uall & t̄pall, gentle & vngentle,*

* Foxe here inserts "and lying by him;" an interpolation as unnecessary as it was impudent and suggestively indecent.

† Here Foxe again interrupts the MS., which, it will be seen, is continuous from the commencement. All that follows professedly appears in his first edition, but in that of 1576 he gives only a short extract, and refers his readers to the former volume. The expression "*professedly* appears" is used, because the reader will find, upon examination, that the next few pages of the MS. are entirely different from the version that Foxe published. Requesting, therefore, a careful comparison of the two, as well as attention to the notes which are attached to them, it will be only necessary to say here, that his mutilation of the original is of the most wanton and merciless character, entirely uncalled for and utterly inexcusable. He omits a large and not unimportant portion of what Rogers wrote; he inserts many passages that he did not write; he distorts, reverses, and conceals his real meaning; and sometimes puts language into his mouth utterly at variance with the character and habits of the man. Many of these expressions are so purely Foxian that those familiar with his writings will detect instantly the miserable forgeries. The writer has no disposition to discuss the motives for this conduct: it is enough that the exposition he is able to make must brand it as it deserves, and cause his entire work hereafter to be regarded, to say the least, with suspicion.

‡ This passage, utterly rejected by Foxe, furnishes us with an interesting picture of Rogers during the night that he passed in the Southwark Compter. How cold and tame, in the contrast, is the introduction in the other version!

§ See Note ||, p. 315.

&c̃l[a]*)—lykewyse, y*[e] *takīge away of y*[e] *sup*ꝑ*macie of y*[e] *b. of R.**, *w*[t] *other mo thinges not a few;—evē so in K. edwardes dayes dyd y*[e] *moste of y*[e] *learned of y*[e] *cleargie (agaīste their wylles, as it doth nowe appeare) sette their handes to y*[e] *mariage of priestes, (as deanes & archdeacons, Doctours & masters of colledges, to y*[e] *nūbre of* 70 *or there aboutes), & y*[e] *moste ꝑte of y*[e] *bishoppes to y*[e] *alteratiō of y*[e] *service into englishe, & to y*[e] *takynge away of y*[e] *positive lawes, w*[ch] *before had ꝑhibited y*[e] *said mariage* †;—*this, I say, they dyd for y*[e] *duke of somersettes & others of y*[e] *kynges executors pleasure: lykewise, whē y*[e] *duke of somersette was beheaded, & y*[e] *duke of northūberlande began to rule y*[e] *roste, looke, what he wold desyre, y*[t] *he had, specially in his laste ꝑliamēte* ‡; *so y*[t], *what his wyll was to be enacted, y*[t] *was enacted: & in lyke maner, synce y*[e] *q. ma*[ie] *came to y*[e] *governaūce*

* The Act of 1536 (28 Henry VIII. c. 10) is here referred to, although the King had been declared supreme head of the Church two years before (26 Henry VIII. c. 1).

† Here Rogers states an important historical fact, entirely omitted by Foxe, and, it is believed, to be found originally nowhere else. The only reference to it is by Strype (*Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 209), who says: "Before the bill passed in the House, it was debated earnestly, and sifted thoroughly in the Convocation. And however the clergy was supposed to be prejudiced for the celibacy of priests, yet (*as we learn from one who seems to have been a member in that Convocation, or, at least, well acquainted with the transactions of it*) there was in the Lower House, of Deans, Archdeacons, Doctors, Heads of Colleges, to the number of seventy, that set their hands in allowance of the marriage of priests (as in the Convocation the last year were fifty-three voices for it). And most of the Bishops in the Upper House set their hands to the taking away the positive laws that prohibited such marriage." In the margin, against this passage, Strype places the words, "John Rogers in his intended speech to the Lord Chancellor." This reference has always hitherto seemed mysterious, because, on examining this "intended speech," in the Acts and Monuments, nothing of the kind was to be found. It now appears that Strype, who had all these MSS. in his possession, and from whom they came by purchase to the British Museum, was aware of the serious discrepancies which we are now considering, and yet never exposed or corrected them, but, on the contrary, repeatedly vouched for the accuracy and faithfulness of Foxe!

‡ It is difficult to determine to what particular Acts of the last Parliament of Edward VI. Rogers here refers. There do not seem to have been any that should have been particularly obnoxious to the Romish clergy, unless it was one dissolving the Bishopric of Durham, whose rich revenues the Duke of Northumberland desired to convert to his own use. The reference is probably to the acts of that Duke generally, which all tended to the ultimate success of his ambitious designs.

of y^e realme, cōmittinge y^e same to y^e cure of y^e b. of wīchest^r (& very fewe others, but he rulinge y^e matter, as all england knoweth to be true), y^e cōsente of y^e whole pliamēte foloweth his head & his will; so y^t now (agaīste their willes, w^tout doubte, & agaīste y^e willes of many thowsandes true heartes of y^e realme, as they of y^e pliamēte howse well know) they have cōdescēded vnto hym, & what he cā not doo in one pliamēte, y^t he doth in another; for he hath had iij., all vnder y^e title of y^e quene (or elles he were shameles), in a yeare & a halfe: & now, I say, since he ruled y^e roste, tell me how many thinges they in their pliamētes have cōdescēded vnto agaīste their willes, yea, & y^e heartes & willes of y^e whole realme — let all england beare me witnes — as y^t y^e quene shuld marye w^t a forein p̄'nce; y^t y^e s̄'vice in englishe shuld be taken awaye; y^t y^e b. of R. shuld have his old authoritie, &c̄t^a. I speake only of those exāples w^ch have bene seen in ou^r tyme, & w^ch all england know to be true. I wyll leave out many oth^r old exāples y^t mighte well be rehearsed: by all these, I say, (& many other who so wold read y^e chronikles of england, & y^e old actes therto apptayninge, cōparinge y^e actes made in any kynges dayes to y^e chronicles of this tyme), it may welbe seen y^t ou^r pliamētes are & have bene, specially, for y^e moste pte, in these latter 100 yeares, but y^e will & pleasure of one, or of a very fewe of y^e heades, eith^r of y^e kynges or of y^e coūsailours; & y^e lyke is to be seen in y^e moste of y^e gn̄all coūselles of y^e latter tymes, y^t is to wete, y^t have been w^tin these 4 or 5 hūdred yeares: wherupō I mighte moste iustelye cōclude y^t none of these oth^r pliamētes or coūcelles mighte or oughte to hindre, but y^t I or any other mā, bringīge y^e worde of god, & y^e cōsente of y^e old cath: church of y^e moste pure tyme, y^t is, 400 yeares aft^r christe, shuld & oughte to have bene heard, to write or speake evē agaīste y^e det^rminatiō, cōsente, decree, acte or artic.e of any pliamēte or gn̄all coūcell, yf they in any poynte or poyntes differed or disagreed frō godes holy worde, yea, although they had all, w^t their willes, cōsented thervnto. I hold my peace, how much more it is lawfull, whē mē be cōpelled to agree: but this acte to make*

* The first Parliament met on the 5th of October, 1553, and was dissolved on the following 6th of December; the second assembled April 2nd, 1554, and lasted only till May 5th, in the same year; the third commenced on the 12th of November, 1554, and was dissolved January 16th, 1555.

*y^e b. of R. sup me head by y^e worde of god, oth^wise then as a minister; to bynde & to loose in heavē & in earth; & to have y^e expositiō of y^e scriptures in his power, & to be above them in authoritie; to allowe what shalbe scriptures & what not; to make articles of ou^r faith; to make lawes vnto w^ch all mē muste obey, vpō payne of dānatiō; to have authoritie above all other bishoppes, yea, above empours & kynges, &c̄t^a (for there is a whole sea of errours cōp^hēded vnder & in these wordes, y^e pope is y^e head of y^e cath: church),—it is agaīste y^e scriptures, w^ch assigne vs christe to be y^e head of y^e church, evē here in earth. I speake De eccl'ia militāte *— of y^e warfayrīge church y^t in this world warrith agaīste y^e devell, y^e world, & y^e fleshe, &c̄t^a — but of y^t rottē head of rome there is no mētiō made in them: wherfore, by y^e word of god, he hath no such authoritie: wherfore I may cōclude y^t I, or any oth^r mā, havinge y^e word of god on ou^r sydes, may speake agaīste such an acte, & oughte to be heard, § y^e pliamētes to geve place to y^e worde of y^e eu^r livīge god, & not god to y^e acte of pliamēte: Of godes word there shall not one title pishe, but it shalbe all fulfilled & pfourmed y^t is therin cōteined, & vnto it muste all mē, k. & q., empou^r, pliamētes & g̃n^all coūselles obey — and y^e word obeyith no mā — it cā not be chaūged nor altered, neither may we adde or put any thīge th^to, nor take no thinge therfrō; but y^e pliamēte or g̃n^all coūcell may be altered, & chaūged, & a cōtrary thinge det^mined, as also there be divers & enough exāples already shewed, & w^t tyme & bookes I could shewe many moo: yea, I wyll put yo^u a mery case, in y^e middeste of my sorowe. † I put y^e case y^t h. 8. shuld rise agayne, & come to y^e nexte pliamēte: wold he not thē be K. still, thinke ye? yes, verelye: whē he than shuld pceave y^t his actes were chaūged, there wold be no small hurly-burlye ‡: what wold then y^e b. of w^chest^r say, & y^e oth^r rochette rowte §, w^t y^e whole*

* De Ecclesia militante. Rogers, like all men of his time, was more or less addicted to the use of Latin phrases, and sometimes what seem to be cant expressions, as will be seen hereafter. They are, however, never inappropriate.

† An interesting characteristic of the man, which we should be sorry to have lost, but for whose preservation we are under no obligations to Foxe.

‡ This expression is as old, it appears, as his time.

§ I. e. those who wore the *rochet*—a white linen garment worn by Bishops and some other ecclesiastics when officiating, differing from the ordinary surplice by being gathered at the wrists.

swarme of deanes, archdeacōs, p̄bendaries, & dignities in y^e cōvocatiō howse, yea, & all y^e Lordes, knightes, & burgesses of y^e pliamēte therto? verely, y^t they had offended y^e K. ma^tie, desyre pdō, & chaūge y^e acte agayne, or repeale y^e new fownd act, & away w^t y^e pope agayne, &c̄t^a: & padvēture some y^t sitte nowe very high shuld daūce trūchemore, after y^e sownde of y^e axe of y^e tower, so longe till their blood were all spente, & y^t y^eu could paute no more for lacke of breath, &c̄t^a: yea, syr, but h. 8. cōmeth no more here — we are not aferde of hym: in dede it appeareth so, by y^e actes y^t are paste, & by you^r dedes nowe, for our bishoppes are not afrayd to saye y^t we were in a schisme & in an heresie, all this while synce y^e abolishinge of y^e b. of R. authoritie, & y^t is in dede to make h. 8. & E. 6. schismatikes & heretikes, albeit y^t they abstayne frō y^e playne speakinge & sayinge so: there are a greate sorte in englande y^t are not so blynde but y^t they cā pceive this iuglinge righte well: oh, how well dyd h. 8. bestowe his bishoprikes vpō such p̄lates! what traytorous heartes bare they vnto hym in his lyfe tyme! let all mē cōsyder this: but now to y^e purpose: what yf h. 8. arise not to reigne in England? cā not god rayse vp an oth̄ kynge of lyke zeale & power, yea, of a much better zeale thē eu̅ he had? yes, I dare say, ye wyll graūte y^t: nowe, yf y^t shuld come by y^e dayes of these bishoppes & of this p̄sente cleargye, wold they not all downe on their mary bones†, & obey to y^e puttinge awaye of y^e b. of R. agayne, & turne about agayne as faste as eu̅ they dyd, & come to y^e crosse‡ agayne, & p̄che againste his vsurped power, &c̄t^a? who doubteth therof? turne, & turne, & turne agayne, is y^e very lyfe & ꝑtie of our popishe p̄lates, & of y^e whole crowne shavē clergie: wherfore, seīge this is true, whye shuld y^e pliamēte be of such force y^t mē mighte not, havinge y^e worde of god on their sydes, be heard, yea, rather be highly alowed to speake againste it? this, I muste tell yo^u, by y^e waye; ye*

* "Dance trunchemore." This is unmistakably the orthography in the MS, but the old glossaries throw no light upon the derivation or meaning of the expression, and they can only be gathered from the context. It was probably a cant phrase, similar to "dance upon nothing," as descriptive of hanging, and may be a corruption of "tranche de mort"—the cut of death—as indicating decapitation.

† The exact orthography of the MS.

‡ Paul's Cross.

*make so many chaũges, & turne so ofte about therin, y^t at y^e length, I muche feare, god will make a very straũge turnīge amonge yo^u : I p̃^aye god it prove not soo.**

Ch. My L. ch: tolde me y^t we gosple p̄chers marred y^e realme.

Ro. Let all mē be iudges, y^t have a zeale to religiō & trueth, wheth this turninge about of y^e papistes have not broughte y^e simple lay people, yea, & many worldly wise mē therto, to this poynte, y^t they cā not tell whō they shuld beleve, or wherevnto they shuld truste : neither is it any mervell, for there is no mā so blynde but he seeth y^t yf there be any lawe of mā to force them, they wyll all turne frō y^e pope to y^e k., & frō y^e p. to y^e k.† agayne; frō y^e latin s̄vice to y^e englishe, & frō y^e english to y^e latin agayne; frō whoredō & advoutrye‡ to lawfull mariage, & frō mariage to hooredō & advoutrie agayne; frō y^e masse to y^e cōion§, & frō y^e cōion to y^e masse agayne, & c̄t̄^a : yea, & yf a kynge shuld nowe come, y^t wold make another chaũge, aft̄ y^e maner as ye late innocēte edwarde dyd, & adde y^e force of lawes, w^ch lacked in his dayes, they wold turne agayne frō y^e popes sup̄macie to y^e kynges, frō y^e latin s̄vice to y^e englishe, frō y^e masse to y^e cōion, & c̄t̄^a ; yea, & yf there came in 20 yeares 10 kynges of divers religiō, & made 10 chaũges in y^e 20 yeares, y^t is, ev̄y 2 yeare a chaũge, addinge, I saye, force therunto, they wold care for no god, but turne about w^t y^e kīges, & ev̄y kynges god shuld be a true god, & his religiō y^e true religiō,—I meane, y^e livinge & raigninge kinge shuld be set furth to y^e vtt̄moste, & his god & religiō to be y^e true god & true religiō, & y^e dead k. shuld have y^e false god & false religiō : so y^t these bishoppes & y^e cleargie wold lyve 20 yeares, & still say y^t they had y^e true god & true religiō, & yet ev̄y ij. yeare preache

* It will be seen that Rogers makes a connected, shrewd, and effective argument, from the commencement to the conclusion, the force of which is greatly weakened, if not destroyed, by Foxe's paraphrase. Perhaps the most striking difference between the two versions will be found in the next paragraphs, which contain a spirited defence of the Protestant preachers against the charge that they were disturbers of the realm, but which portion of the MS. Foxe disposes of in eight or ten lines.

† The words "Pope" and "King," as used the second time, should evidently be transposed.

‡ From the French *avouterie*, almost synonymous with the other word used, but also implying a system of bastardy.

§ Communion.

a cōtrary religiō: how cā this be? Itm̃, all y^e^ world seeth w^t^ what crueltie they deale: they wyll not take any order by disputatiō or cōferēce, either by mouth or pēne: they punishe before & w^t^out lawe: they have emp̃soned vs now almoste a yeare & a halfe, &, takynge ou^r^ livinges awaye y^e^ firste day, have kepte vs there so longe till they could gette a lawe to make vs either to denye ou^r^ doctrine (I call yt ours because we were y^e^ ministers of it, for it is assuredly y^e^ doctrine of god taughte by christe, y^e^ ꝓphettes, & apostles), or elles to take ou^r^ lyves frō vs moste cruelly & tyrānouslye, & yet in their wordes p̃tende m̃cye & charitie: they are, verelye, evē y^e^ mē y^t^ david paynteth out in y^e^ figure & paterne of saul, ps. 5†, nō est in ore eoꝝ veritas, cor eoꝝ vanū est, sepulchrū patens est guttur eoꝝ, linguis suis dolose agebant, iudica illos deus; yt is, there is no truth in their mouth, their hearte is vayne, or full of corruptiō or wickednes, — y^t^ is, full of deceipte & guile, — their throte is an opē sepulchre, — y^t^ is, a grave y^t^, lyinge opē, looketh for a corpse, to rotte it & eate it vp: evē so do ou^r^ ennemies, w^t^ their fayre paynted wordes & fyne tales, go about to drawe vs vnto them, & to make vs forsake god, & to fall frō hȳ: how say ye, say they, wyll y^e^ come into one church w^t^ us? so shall ye receave mercye, &c̃ĩ^a^: is not this to deale subtellye w^t^ their tonges? are not such mens throtes an opē sepulchre? sed iudica eos deus, — but o lorde, destroye them, iudge & cōdēne them: thus much wold I have sayd of y^e^ firste poynte, — y^t^ I, beinge a private psō, & havīge on my syde godes moste holy worde, & y^e^ cōsente of y^e^ moste olde true & cath: church, as is aforesayd, y^t^ is to saye, havinge on my syde god hȳselfe & his holy cath: electe & chosē church, oughte not to have bene denyed to write — for y^t^ was my requeste ‡ — knowynge*

* This seems to determine the fact that the preachers derived no income from their respective livings, from the first day of their personal restraint, whether in prison or in their own dwellings.

† Psalm v. 9—11.

‡ After the mockery called a disputation, at Oxford, when the words of Ridley and Latimer were so grossly perverted, the Protestant preachers generally refused all similar propositions, unless they should be allowed to put their arguments in writing, which they thought could not be falsified or distorted to their discredit. It was fortunate, for their peace of mind, that they did not know what sad work would afterwards be made with their writings, by the "Historian of the Reformation."

y^t they wold, as they also dyd, dashe & face me out w^t wordes, & w^t cryinge all agaīste me — one selye sowle — & so to have declared myne innocēcie: yea, if they had bene or yet were mē of god, they muste moste lovingly have embraced this ꝑferre: but what they allwayes have bene, y^t they be, &, I feare me, wilbe cōtinuallye: y^e lorde cōverte them, yf it be his blessed wyll, & yf they be such mē as may be ꝑtakers of y^e prayers of godes electe & chosen; amē.*†

I have also declared w^ch p̄chers marre them: & yt is moste sure y^t we, — preachinge godes worde syncerelye & trulye, as we have (y^e lord be thanked therfore!) vndoubtedly done, yea, & y^t vnfaynedlye, heartely, & earnestlye, — oughte to be allowed for y^e savers & helpers of y^e realme; & ou^r adū saries, doynge y^e cōtrarye, — p̄chinge false lyes & mēs ī^a ditions of ashes, candles, palmes, water, bread, belles, herbes, dead soynctes, rottē bones, y^e popes poysō & destructiō of sowles, — rockynge vs all in blyndnes, w^t latin abominable masses, ꝑcessions & other service, ringinge, synginge, blessinge, yea, & cursynge & burnīge therto, & cet^a (for who cā rechē vp all their trīme toyes, fowle treacherye, false fayned fantasyes, lowde lyes, hypocrisye, & idolatrie, & cet^a?) — these, these thinges wyll bringe y^e realme to vtter ruine, specially seynge it hath refused y^e warnīge of god through vs his true p̄chers: this shall ye moste assuredly fynde to be true, yf ye repente not, & amende quicklye. I cā not at this tyme be any longer in this matter, although I righte gladly wold.‡

Ch. Wherfore I now ꝑceed to y^t 2. thinge y^t I had to saye, w^ch was y^t my L. ch: had y^e day before sayd his pleasure of them y^t ruled y^e *ranke y^e* while he was in presō, & also reioysed as though god had made this alteratiō even for his sake, & his cath: church, as he calleth it; & to declare, as it were by mirakle, y^t we were before in a schisme &

* Notice this unaffected expression of Rogers' humility.

† After all the provocation they had given him, he could still pray for his enemies.

‡ At this point, Foxe seems to have grown weary of his self-imposed task, and decided to let the author of the MS. speak for himself. He could not, however, give up entirely the pleasure of exhibiting what he probably regarded as his superior wisdom, the manifestations of which will appear on several occasions.

heresye, & y^e realme * to an vnitie, & to a truthe, & I cā not tell wherto,— *there* was I fullye purposed to have sayd:

Ro. *Secōdarelye*, my L., whereas *you* yestday so highlye dispraysed y^e *governaūce* of them y^t ruled in innocente k. edwardes dayes, it may please you^r L. to vnderstande y^t we poore preachers, whō ye so evell allowe, dyd moste boldly & plainly rebuke their evell governaūce in many thinges, especially their covetousnes, neglecte, & small regarde to lyve aft^r y^e gospele, & also their negligence to *cause* other to lyve theraft^r, w^t moo thinges thē I cā now rehearse: this cā all london testifie w^t vs. I wold also have tolde hym what I myselfe, for my *poore* parte, dyd ones at p. crosse †, concerninge y^e *abuses* of abbeyes & other church goodes, & I am assured righte well y^t never a papiste of thē all dyd ever so much therin as I dyd, I thanke *god* therfore. I was also, as is well knowne, fayne to answere therfore before all y^e coūsell, & many of my brethrē dyd y^e lyke; so y^t we, for y^e not rebukynge of their faultes, shall not answere before god, nor *shalbe* blameworthye before mē: therof let y^e gentlemē & courtiers thēselves, & all y^e citizens of london, testifie what we dyd: but, my L., ye could not abyde them for y^t w^ch they dyd vnto yo^u, & for y^t they were of a cōtrarye religiō vnto yo^u: it is private hate ‡ (was I fullye determined to have sayd) y^t makes yo^u to reporte so evell of y^e governaūce; & ye may now say what ye *luste* of them, whē they be ptely dead & gone, & ptely by yo^u put out of office: but what shalbe sayd of yo^u, *whē yo^u come downe, downe* §, ye shall thē heare; & (I muste say my cōsciēce) I feare me ye have & wyll *do*, w^t you^r governaūce, bringe england out of godes blessinge into a warme sūne: I p̄^aye god *ye* do not. I am an englishe mā borne, &, god knoweth, do naturally wishe well to my coūtree,—&, my Lorde, *have ofte proved y^t y^e thinge w^ch I*

* Foxe inserts "was now brought."

† Paul's Cross. For an account of the circumstance to which Rogers here refers, see p. 93.

‡ Foxe makes quite an unnecessary addition to this simple and forcible declaration, and uses the wretched word "infest," which has since puzzled his commentators, and for which Rogers must be no longer responsible.

§ Foxe substitutes "when your fall shall follow."

*much dreame of, & feare shall come to passe, doth in dede followe.** I p̃ye god *y*ᵗ I may fayle of my gessinge in this behalfe. *I moste heartely desyre it of hym:*† but, truely, yᵗ will not be wᵗ expellinge yᵉ true worde of god out of yᵉ realme, & wᵗ shedynge of īnocēte blood.

And as touchinge youʳ reioysinge, as though god had sette youᵘ alofte to punishe vs, by mirakle ‡, & to minister iustice, yf we wyll not receave youʳ holy f.§ mercye, &c̃tª, & therby to declare youʳ church true & ours false,—to yᵗ, I āswere thus: godes workes *are* wonderfull, & are not to be cōp̃hēded ‖ & pceived *of* mans wisedō — not by yᵉ witte of yᵉ moste wyse & prudente; yea, they are sooneste deceaved, & do moste easily iudge amisse of godes wonderfull workes, yᵗ are moste wise¶: god hath made all yᵉ wisedō of *y*ᵉ world folishnes, 1 co. 1, &c̃tª **—dedit dilectā āiam suā in manibꝰ inimicoꝝ eiꝰ, ierem. 12.††—he doth put his beloved & deare hearte into yᵉ handes of *his* enemies therof: this thinge doth god, wᶜʰ thinge all wisemen accōpte to be yᵉ moste folishe and vnwise *poynte* yᵗ cā be: will yᵉ wise of *this* world, trowe yᵉ, put their moste deare friendes & tenderly beloved childrē into their enemies handes, to kyll *them*, slaye, burne, &c̃tª? *it* is a madnes above all madnes vnto them, & yet doth god vse this order, & this is an high & *a* singuler wisedō in his sighte, wᶜʰ yᵉ world taketh to be moste extreme madnes: cā yᵉ world shewe a cause whie he put yᵗ moste holy mā, iohn *y*ᵉ baptiste, into *herodes handes* to be beheaded, & yᵗ in prysō, secretely, wᵗout opē iudgemēte, moste tyrānouslie? whye he

* Notice how Foxe altered, without improving, this sentence. Why he omitted the reference to dreaming, it is difficult to understand, for he appears elsewhere to have attached great importance to dreams, omens, and other supernatural occurrences.

† Omitted by Foxe.

‡ Foxe here inserts—"for so you report and brag openly of yourself"—not in the MS.

§ F. i. e. Father's.

‖ Comprehended.

¶ Foxe reads "most *worldly* wise."

** Foxe quotes 1st Cor. chaps. 1 and 2. He might as well have added the third, in the 19th verse of which appears the language used by Rogers, although he probably referred generally to the first chapter.

†† Jeremiah xii. 7.

suffred y^e greate multitude of īnocēte childrē to be *moste cruellye slayne* * of herode of ascalon, *w^ch was father to hym y^t kylled ioh^ān y^e baptiste?* † whie he suffred his beloved apostle *s.* iames to be beheaded of an other herode (*as I suppose, but cā not well tell for lacke of bookes*) ‡ act: 12? § *w^ch* ‖ suffred his beloved seed of abrah^ām, isaac, & iacob to be 400 yeares in thraldome & bondage ¶ vnder pharao, & all y^e stocke of iuda & beniamin, his beloved childrē & church, to come vnder y^e power, sweord, & tyrānie of nabucodonosor, §·c̃c̃t^a? no, verelye; but his true cath: church knoweth divers causes hereof, w^ch are now to longe to rehearse, & w^ch I wold righte gladly shewe, yf I had *bookes* & tyme:** but this I am righte sure of, y^t it was not because y^e aforesayd godly mē were in heresyes, & subiecte to false godes services & idolatrie, & y^t their adūsaries were mē of god, & beloved of god, §·c̃c̃t^a: y^e cōtrarye was true: Joħn bapt: was beloved of god, & herode hated, & so furth of y^e reste: & ioħn bapt:, y^e īnocēte childrē, iames, y^e childrē of israel in egypte & babylō, were y^e cath: mēbres & people of god, & their adūsaryes, into whose handes they were put & delivered, & y^t of god and by his good wyll & pleasure, were idolatours & y^e people of y^e devell, §·c̃c̃t^a; but wold be called y^e chiefe mēbres of god, & reioysed y^t they had y^e true god, & y^t it was nowe declared by miracles y^t y^e israelites had but a false god & false religiō, seinge they were deliūed into y^e babylonians handes, §·c̃c̃t^a: & all y^e other, y^e herodes & pharaos I meane, plainly determined y^t, yf y^e men w^ch they kylled & handled evell had bene godes people, god wold neū have suffred them to have come into

* Foxe reads "murthered."

† Foxe's object, in transposing the last two sentences, is not clear: perhaps he thought it highly important that they should stand as the events they refer to occurred in the order of time.

‡ Omitted by Foxe. It is interesting, as a carelessly ingenuous confession that his memory might not be safely relied upon concerning a minor fact in Biblical history.

§ Acts xii. 1, 2.

‖ Foxe here reads "why he," which is a very proper correction of a probable error of the original transcriber.

¶ Foxe here stupidly inserts the word "and," which has been faithfully retained by all his editors.

** Foxe omits "books and."

their handes, but rather have done y^e^ cõtrarye: *who let iohãn y^e^ bapt: be kylled of herode, &c̃t^a^*?* evẽ y^e^ lyke is nowe to be seen in vs, & in ou^r^ moste cruell adũsaries: not therfore are they y^e^ cath: church, because ou^r^ mercifull god † hath, at this presente, gevẽ ou^r^ lyves into their handes; neither are we therfore heretikes, because we suffre punishemẽte at their handes,—as y^e^ L. ch:, by his reioysinge, semeth to gather: y^e^ cõtrarye is hereby to be gathered, y^t^ we be y^e^ mẽbres of y^e^ true cath: church (because we suffre for y^e^ same doctrine w^ch^ iohn bapt:, iames, y^e^ israelites, yea, christe & *his* apostles [suffred for]‡, of w^ch^ none taughte of ou^r^ adversaries doctrine, y^t^ *y^e^* rottẽ antichrĩan head of R: shuld be y^e^ head of *y^e^ cath:* church, but have manifestlye taughte y^e^ cõtrarye, speciallye paule, 2 thess: 2 §, & daniel in y^e^ 11 ‖,—w^ch^ thinge, yf I mighte have lyfe & bookes, I wold so ¶ set furth, y^t^ all y^e^ world shuld see it *as I dyd teache*),**—& ou^r^ adũsaries, w^t^ their antichrĩan head, y^e^ mẽbres of y^e^ develles churche, as they vndoubtedly are††: & in lyke case as y^e^ above mẽtioned holy

* Foxe omits this interrogative sentence entirely, and substitutes the words "and have let John Baptist kill Herod, and the Israelites Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezar"—which seems a forced construction of Rogers' meaning. He probably intended to affirm, in the form of a question, that God, for some wise purpose, suffered John to be killed. *Who* let? &c, thus directing attention to the real Author of the permission to kill. The preceding words, "have done the contrary," seem only to imply that He would rather have kẽpt His people out of the hands of their enemies.

† The writer cannot forbear directing attention to this and similar expressions used by Rogers, and others of his time and class. In the midst of their severest sufferings, and what would seem to unsanctified hearts the great injustice to which they were subjected, they recognised God as *merciful*. Such language breathes the very spirit of resignation and illimitable faith.

‡ These two words are enclosed in brackets in the MS., and were, doubtless, very properly supplied by the transcriber, to complete the sense of the passage. They did not, however, please Foxe, who substituted "did teach," which led him immediately into a confusion, as will soon be seen.

§ Rogers probably refers to 2nd Thessalonians, ii. 8—12. Foxe adds "John in the Apocalypse"—which does not appear in the MS.

‖ Daniel xi. Rogers probably refers to the prophecy contained in the 36—40 verses.

¶ Foxe here inserts "by God's grace."

** Omitted by Foxe.

†† The writer must ask a careful comparison of the two versions, as far as the above paragraph is concerned. It will be seen that, having substituted the

mē (though they in their dayes were coũted to be heretikes, seditious, & disturbers of y^e^ whole worlde, — for vnto iohān bapt: it was sayd, io. 1.*, wherfore baptizeste thou, yf y^u^ be not elias nor y^t^ ꝑphete, &cẽt^a^? as who saye, y^u^ haste no such authoritie to begīne a newe ceremonie in y^e^ church, for we be in ordinarye possessiō of y^e^ church, & of vs y^u^ haste *no such authoritie*†— we abyde by our old circūcisiō ‡, &cẽt^a^: & y^e^ lyke could I declare of iames, & of all y^e^ apostles & prophettes, & of our saviour christe hȳselfe, y^t^ they were all cōdēpned as heretikes, & blasphemers of god, & disturbers of y^e^ whole worlde: paule & silas, act. 16§, *muste heare these* wordes of y^e^ philippians,—these mē trouble our citie, *& yet be they* iewes, & preache institutions w^ch^ *it is* not lawfull for vs to receave, seynge we be romayns: & in y^e^ 17th *of y^e^ actes* ‖, y^e^ wise mē of this world, such as gave their indevour to wisedō, sayd by s. paule,— quid vult spmologus hic dicere? y^t^ is, what wyll this prater saye? (as my *L.* sayd to me,— shall we suffer this felow to prate? whē I wold fayne have sayd y^t^ thinge y^t^ I have here writtē) — triffeler, newes carier or bringer, y^t^ *telles* whatsoeu mē wyll have hym, for gayne & advaūtage; y^t^ wyll, for a pece of bread, say what ye wyll have hym, &cẽt^a^: an oth^r^ sayd, in y^e^ same place,— he semeth to be a preacher of new develles; & act 21.¶ y^e^ iewes saye by paule, layinge handes on hym, — helpe, o y^e^ israelites, *sayd* they, this is y^e^ mā y^t^ teacheth all mē euy where agaīste y^e^ people (meanīge y^e^ iewes), & y^e^ lawe, & this place (meanīge ierusalē),— & yet was neu a worde of *this* true: & actes 22,** y^e^ same iewes sayd of paule, — out of y^e^ earth w^t^ y^t^ mā, or

words "did teach" in the place of "suffered for," Foxe discovered, as he proceeded, that he had become involved in a difficulty, and evidently did not know how to dispose of the concluding sentence. So he coolly erased the parenthetical marks, leaving the last portion of the paragraph attached to the part in parenthesis, while it is really connected with the sentence that precedes it. By restoring these marks, the original reading is perfectly clear.

* John i. 25.

† Foxe substitutes "received no such power"

‡ Circumcision.

§ Acts xvi. 20 — 21.

‖ Acts xvii. 18.

¶ Acts xxi. 28.

** Acts xxii. 22.

awaye w^t hym, for it is not lawfull for hym to lyve: how many moo of these ensāples are to be fownde in y^e bible?)*— although, I say, these mē were in their dayes takē for heretikes of them y^t were thē in authoritie, & of y^e greate multitude of y^e worlde, yet it is now well knowē,— & verye shortely aft̄ their deathes was knowē, yea, & evē in their lyves, *to* y^e true cath: church,— y^t they were not only *of*† y^e true cath: church, but also y^e fownders & builders therof, & *y^e chiefe & speciall mēbres*, notw^tstādinge y^e sinist̄ iudgemēte y^t y^e wise & mightie & y^e greate multitude of y^e world had *on* them, & in their cōsciēces they were alwayes assuredly certifyed of y^e same: evē y^e same shall y^e world fynde true in vs, shortly aft̄ ou^r deathes, as also there be at this howre, y^e lorde be thanked therfore! not a fewe y^t already know it; & we ou^rselves also are, by godes grace, assuredly certifyed in ou^r *owne* cōsciēces y^t we are no heretikes, but mēbres of y^e true cath: church; & ou^r adūsaryes, y^e bishoppes & popishe cleargie, w^ch wyll *now* have y^t title, y^e mēbres of sathans church, & their antichrīā head of R: w^t them: yea, but here they wyll crye out,—loo, these mē wyll still be lyke ioñ y^e bapt:, y^e ꝑphettes & apostles, &c̄t̄^a: I answere, we make not ou^rselves lyke vnto them in y^e singuler vertues & gyftes of god gevē vnto them, as of miracles doynge, & of many other thinges: y^e similitude & lykenes of them & vs cōsisteth not in all thinges, but only in *one*, y^t is, y^t we be lyke them in doctrine, & in y^e suffringe ꝑsecutiō & infamie for y^e same: we have ꝑched their very doctrine, & none other *thinge*, & y^t we *be* able sufficiētly to declare by their writīges: ‡ for my ꝑte, I have profered to prove y^e same, as is now oftē sayd: & *therfore do* § we suffre y^e lyke reproche, shame, & rebuke of y^e world, & y^e lyke ꝑsecutiō, leesynge‖ ou^r lyves & goodes, forsakynge

* Foxe's destruction of the parenthetical marks, embracing the foregoing long paragraph (which, it will be seen, has a shorter parenthesis within it), has hitherto rendered it somewhat indistinct. Their restoration, as they are placed in the MS., restores also both harmony and sense.

† Foxe substitutes "the chief and special members of."

‡ Foxe here inserts "and by writing."

§ Foxe substitutes "for this cause."

‖ Lesing: from *lese*, equivalent to *lose* — to dismiss, separate, or depart from — to give up, quit, resign, relinquish, or abandon.—*Richardson.*

(as ou^r m^r christe cōmaūdeth) father, moth^r, systrē, brethrē, wives, & childrē, & all y^t there is,—beinge assured of a ioyfull resurrectiō, & to be crowned in glorye w^t thē, accordīge to y^e vnfallible ꝑmisses made vnto vs in christe, ou^r onlye & sufficiēte mediatou^r, recōciler, prieste, sacrifice, w^ch hath pleased y^e father, & quieted & pacified his wrath agaīste ou^r sȳnes, & made vs w^tout spotte or wrinkle in his syghte, by īputatiō, although we, of & in ou^rselves, are bespotted & beblotted w^t many fylthye sȳnes, w^ch, yf y^e greate mercye graūted in christe dyd not put awaye, not imputinge them vnto vs, of his measureles & vnspeakable m̄cye & love to save vs,* wold have broughte vs to eūlastīge dānatiō & death ꝑpetuall, &c̄t^a: herein, & in *none oth^r thinge*, do we affirme ou^rselves to be lyke vnto ou^r head christe, & all his apostles, ꝑphettes, martyrs, & saynctes; & herein oughte all christē mē to be lyke them, & herein are all † christē mē & weomē lyke them, *eu^ry one* accordinge to y^e measure of y^e fayth y^t god hath dealte vnto them, & to y^e diūsitie ‡ of y^e gyfte of y^e spirite geve vnto them, &c̄t^a: but, *syr*, let vs nowe cōsyder, y^t yf it be godes good wyll & pleasure to geve *over* his owne beloved hearte, y^t-is, his beloved church & y^e mēbres therof, into y^e handes of their enemies, to chastē, trye, & ꝑve thē, & to bringe them to y^e true vnfayned *knowledginge* of their owne naturall *stubborne disobediēce* towardes god & his cōmaūdemētes,—as touchinge y^e love of god, & of their brethrē & neighbours, & their naturall inclinatiō, readines, & desyre to love creatures, to seke their owne lustes, pleasures, & thinges forbyddē of god,—& to obteyn a trewe § repētaūce & sorowfulnes therfore; & to make them sigh & crye for y^e forgevenes *therof*, & for y^e ayde of y^e spirite, dayly, to mortifye & kyll y^e sayd evell desyres & lustes; yea, & ofte fallinge into grosse owtwarde sȳnes, as david dyd, peter, magdalen, & other; to arise agayne also therout, w^t a mightie cryinge for mercye, &c̄t^a, & *for* many other causes;—let vs cōsyder what he *after* doth

* Foxe here inserts "they," rendering the sentence ungrammatical.
† Foxe here inserts "true."
‡ Diversity.
§ Foxe inserts "and earnest."

w^t y^e sayd enemyes, into whose handes he hath gevē his tenderly beloved dearlynges*, & crosseth them for a small while, accordinge to his good pleasure, as all fathers do w^t their childrē, heb. 12†, ꝑverb. 3.‡—he vtterlye destroyeth & eũlastingly dāneth y^e *vnpenitente* enemies: let herode tell me what he wāne by kyllinge iames, & ꝑsecutinge peter, & christes tender dearlinges, & beloved spowse & wife his church? verely, god thoughte hym not worthye *of death, to have it* ministred vnto hym by mē or angelles, or any worthye creatures; but those small & yet moste vile beastes, lice & small wormes, muste cōsume & kyll his beastlye, vile, tyrānous bodye: pharao & nabugodonosor, for all their pryde & moste mightie power, muste at y^e length let godes dearlynges goo frelye away out of their lande, yea, & out of their bandes *of* tyrānie: for whē it could not be obteined at their handes, y^t godes cōgregatiō mighte have true mercye ministred vnto them, but y^e coũtfette m̃cye of these ou^r dayes, y^t is to say, extreme crueltie, & evē y^e very & y^t moste horrible & cruell death, god arose & awooke out of his sleape, & destroyed those enemies of his flocke, w^t a mightie hande & stretched out arme: pharao dyd, w^t moste greate & intollerable burthens & labours, *oppresse* & bringe vnd^r y^e poore israelites, & yet dyd y^e courtyers vndoubtedlye noyse abroad y^t y^e kynge was m̃cifull vnto them, to suffre them to lyve in his lande, & to sette them aworke, y^t they mighte gette their lyvinge: yf he shuld thruste them out of his lande, whither shuld they goo, lyke a sorte of vagabondes & rūagates, &c̄t^a? this title & name of mercye wold y^t tyraũte have, & so dyd his *false, flatterīge* courtiers spredde his vayne prayse abroade: have not we *evē* y^e lyke ensāples nowe a dayes? oh y^t I had nowe tyme to write certayn thinges ꝑtayninge to ou^r wīches^rs mercye,—how m̃cyfull he hath bene *vnto* me & *vnto* my good brethrē! I wyll speake of neither §, yet vnto *y* duke of

* Foxe here interpolates a dozen words that are entirely unnecessary. See his version.

† Hebrews xii. 7.

‡ Proverbs iii. 12.

§ This passage is rather obscure in the MS., but is certainly not improved by Foxe's "tinkering"

suffolkes moste innocẽte daughter, & to her * husbonde, &c̃ĩ[a]; for although their fathers were fawtye, yet had their youth & lacke of expiẽce† deserved a ꝑdon by all true mercifull mens iudgemẽtes:‡ oh y[t] I had tyme to paynte out this matter aryghte! but there be many alyve y[t] cā do yt § better whẽ I am dead: *but* pharao had his plages, & his moste florishynge lande was, by his coũstfette mercye, w[ch] was in dede righte crueltie & abominable tyrānye, vtt̃ly destroyed: & thinke ye y[t] this bloodye butcherlye b.‖ of wichesꝰ & his moste bloody brethrẽ shall escape? or y[t] england shall, for their offẽces, & speciallye for y[e] mayntenaũce of their idolatrie & wilfull folowinge of them, not abyde a greate brũte?¶ yes, vndoubtedly: ** yf god looke not mercifullye vpō englande, y[e] seedes of vtter destructiō are sowẽ *therin* alreadye, by these hypocriticall tyraũtes & antichristiā ꝑlates, popishe papistes, & double traytours to their naturall coũtrye: & yet they speake of mercye ⁊· of blessinge, of y[e] cath: church, of vnitie, of power, & strẽgtheninge of y[e] realme, ⁊c̃ĩ[a]: this double dissimulatiō wyll shew itselfe one daye, whẽ y[e] plage cōmeth, w[ch] wyll vndoubtedly lighte vpō these crowne shorne captaynes, & y[t] shortelye, whatsoever y[e] godlye & y[e] poore realme suffre in y[e] meane while, by godes good suffraũce & wyll! Spite of nabugodonosors beарde, & maugrye†† his hearte, y[e] captive, thrall, & miserable iewes muste come home agaỹ, & have *y[e]* citie & temple buylded vp agayne,

* Foxe here inserts "as innocent," which words are not in the MS.

† Experience.

‡ It will be seen that Rogers does not implicate the Queen in the sad fate of Lady Jane Grey and Lord Guildford Dudley, but casts all the responsibility upon Gardiner. He repeatedly charges upon him all the mischief that was then being done, both in Church and State.

§ Foxe here interpolates the word "much."

‖ We might have wished not to find this harsh expression in the MS., but there it is, and it must be presumed that Rogers's indignation had just then risen to an unusual height.

¶ Brunt.

** It is the following paragraph, only, which Foxe retained in his own editions succeeding that of 1563, and which he thus preserved on account of what he alleged to be its prophetical character. It will be seen that, in order to fully appreciate its meaning and force, it should be read in connection with what precedes it.

†† I e., maugre or mauger; Fr. malgré: in spite of.

through zorobabell, esdras, & neemiah, &c̄t̄ª; & yᵉ whole kyngdō of babylō *to ruine muste goo, & their honour be takē* * of straūgers, yᵉ ꝑsians & medians †: so shall yᵉ *dispsed* ‡ englishe flocke of christe be broughte agayne into *yᵉ* former *state*, or to a better, I truste in yᵉ lorde god, thē it was in innocēte k. edwardes dayes; & ourʳ bloody babylonicall bishoppes, & yᵉ whole crowne *shavē* cōpanye, broughte to vtter shame, rebuke, ruine, decaye, & destructiō: for god cā not, *nor* vndoubtedly wyll not, *suffre yᵉ false lyinge doctrine* §, their hypocrisye, *bloodshedynge*, whoredō, idlenes, & *pleasante lyfe in all pleasure* ‖, their thrasonicall *boastinges & pryde* ¶, & malicious, *envious, poyson stomackes towardes* ** his poore & miserable christians: pe truly warneth, yf iudgemēte begīneth at yᵉ howse of god, what shalbe yᵉ ende of them yᵗ beleve not yᵉ gosple? yf yᵉ rightuous shalbe scante saved, where shall yᵉ vngodly & *yᵉ* sȳfull appeare? some shall have their punishemēte here in this world & in yᵉ world to come *to*, & they yᵗ escape in this world shall not escape eūlastīge dānatiō, &c̄t̄ª: this shalbe yourʳ sawce, o ye wicked papistes! make ye mery here *as* longe as ye maye.††

Thus much of yᵉ secōd ꝑte: yᵉ 3th & laste thīge yᵗ I wold have spokē of shuld have bene an answere to myne old mʳ D. hethe ‡‡, *now b. of Worc̄; wᶜʰ sayd yᵗ I coulde not tell hȳ where*

* Foxe reads "must go to ruin and be taken in," thus changing the whole sense.

† Persians and Medes.

‡ Foxe sometimes substitutes the word "disperpled," and again "disperckled," which have greatly perplexed modern readers. The MS. has the proper, good old word "dispersed."

§ Foxe reads "suffer *for ever their abominable*, lying, false doctrine."

‖ Foxe substitutes "*pestilent* life *pampered* in all *kinds of* pleasure."

¶ Foxe reads "boasting, pride."

** Foxe reads "envious and poisoned stomachs which they bear towards," &c.

†† Here Foxe's version always ends. The concluding paragraph of the MS. may have been omitted as being then of little importance, and in order to save space, but its restoration is interesting to us, as will be seen, for more than one reason.

‡‡ "Mine old master, Dr. Heath." This settles the hitherto disputed question, whether it was Nicholas Heath, or Richard Pates, who was present officially on the day of the trial of Rogers, Hooper, and others. Foxe, in his first edition, in a marginal note in another place, states that Heath was meant, and in subsequent

y^e^ churcḥ is, as I have mētioned in y^e^ cōfessiō at y^e^ firste tyme of all, whē we were called before y^e^ coūcell in y^e^ b. of wīchest^r^s howse,—I answerīge y^t^ I coulde: for lacke of tyme I cōclude † : godes pece be w^t^ yow : amen.‡*

ones makes Rogers say the same in the text. Some of his editors, however, have insisted that Pates was at that time Bishop of Worcester, Heath having been promoted to the Archbishopric of York. It might be enough to say that Rogers was probably not aware of the changes that had been made during his confinement, but this is not necessary. The difficulty is readily explained by the fact that, although these changes had been nominally made, neither of them came into possession of the temporalities of their respective Sees, until after Rogers' death ; Pates on the 5th, and Heath on the 26th, of the following March. (*Nicolas' Historic Peerage.*) Rogers was, therefore, technically correct, and Heath was still Bishop of Worcester, although Archbishop of York elect. (See account of Heath in Note, p. 159.) What Rogers meant by styling Heath his "old master," it has been impossible to determine, but it is quite probable that he may have been his tutor while at Cambridge. Their age was about the same, but Heath was considerably the senior of Rogers in the University, having taken his degrees about four years before him.

* See page 304.

† Rogers was, after all, compelled to close abruptly. Considering the difficulties under which he must have laboured, it is wonderful that he accomplished even the little he did, and still more wonderful that even that was permitted to see the light. It is not improbable, also, that part of the time he could steal from his jealous watchers was occupied in writing his last words to his family, to be committed to the same uncertain repository. If so, and they were preserved, they never were published, doubtless being regarded as too precious and sacred to be suffered to pass from their own custody.

‡ His last prayer and final blessing. Appropriate words from one who had been so greatly instrumental in introducing that Sacred Volume, from whose inspirations this peace was to be derived. It is gratifying to be able to restore them to their rightful position.

ACCOUNT OF THE

EXAMINATIONS, &c. OF JOHN ROGERS,

AS PUBLISHED BY FOXE.

[From the Acts and Monuments, First Edition, 1563: collated with his subsequent Revisions.]

THE CONFESSION & ANSWER OF JHON ROGERS, MADE VNTO THE LORDE CHAUNCELOR AND TO THE REST OF THE KINGES AND QUENES MOST HONORABLE COUNSEL THE XXII. DAY OF JANUARY. ANNO 1555. COPIED OUT OF HIS OWNE HAND, WHICH WE FOLOWED, AND HAUE ALSO TO SHEWE.*

L. Chan. Fyrst the Lord Chauncelor sayd vnto me thus. Sir ye haue hard of the state of the Rëalme in which it standeth now.

Rogers. No my Lorde, I haue bene kepte in close prison, and except there haue bene some generall thinge sayd at the table, when I was at dyner or supper, I haue hard nothing: and ther haue I heard nothing wheruppon any special thing might be grounded.

L. Chan. Then said the Chaũcelor: General things, general thinges mockingly. Ye haue heard of my Lord Cardinals cõming, & that the Parliamẽt hath receued his blessing, not one resisting vnto it, but one man, which did speake against it. Such an vnity & such a miracle hath

* This refers, doubtless, to the identical copy which the present writer discovered, a faithful transcript having been made and sent to Foxe, while on the continent, as he published a translation of it in his Latin edition, at Basle, in 1559. By whom this copy was made, there is now no means of determining, although it is possible that the writing may be hereafter identified. It is probable that Austin Bernher, and other sympathising Protestants who escaped the persecutions, took pains to secure this and similar documents, and effect their transmission to the exiles on the continent, through whom they reached Foxe.

not bene sene. And all they (of which there are viii. score in one house [saue] one that was by, whose name I know not) haue with one assent and consent receaued pardon of theyr offenses for the schisme that we haue hadde in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the Catholike Church. How saye yee, are ye content to vnite and knit your selfe to the fayth of the Catholik Church with vs in the state in which it is nowe in Englād? will ye do that?

Rogers. The Catholike Church I neuer did nor will dissent from.

L. Chan. Nay but I speake of the state of the Catholike Church, in that wise in which we now stand in England, hauing receaued the Pope to be supreame head.

Rogers. I know none other head but Christ, of his catholike Church, neyther wil I acknowledge the Byshop of Rome to haue any more autority, then any other Bishop hath, by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the old & pure Catholike Churche .iiij. hundreth yeares after Christ.

L. Chan. Why didst thou thē acknowledge King Hērye the eyght to be supreme head of the church if Christ be the onely head?

Rogers. I neuer graunted him to haue any supremacy in spirituall thinges, as are the forgeuenes of sins, giuing of the holy ghost, autoritie to be a Judge aboue the word of God.

L. Chan. Yea said, he and the Bishop of Duresme, and Worcester, if thou haddest sayd so in his dayes: (and they nodded the head at me, with a laughter) thou haddest not bene a liue now.

Rogers. Which thing I denyed, and would haue told how he was sayd and ment to be suprem head. But they loked & laughed one vpō another, and made such a busines, that I was constrayned to let it passe. There lyeth also no great waight therupō. For al the world knoweth what the meaning was. The Lorde Chauncelor also sayd to the Lord William Haward that there was no inconuenience therin, to haue Christ to be supreme head, and the Bishop of Rome also: and when I was ready to haue answered, that there could not

be two heads of one Church, & haue more plainly declared the vanitye of that his reason, the Lord Chauncelor sayd: what saiest thou? make vs a directed āswer, whether thou wilt be one of this Catholyke Church, or not, with vs in the state in which we are now?

Rogers. My Lord, without fayle I cannot beleaue, that ye your selues do thinke in your hartes, that he is supreame head in forgiuing of sinne &c. as is before sayd: seing you and al the Byshoppes of the Realme haue now .xx. yeares longe preached. and some of you also written to the contrary, and the Parliament hath so long agone condiscended vnto it. And there he interrupted me thus.

L. Chan. Tushe that Parliament was with moste great cruelty constrayned to abolysh and put away the primacy from the Bishop of Rome.

Rogers. With cruelty? why then I perceaue that you take a wrong way, with cruelty to perswade mens consciences. For it should appere by your doinges now, that the cruelty then vsed hath not perswaded your consciences. Howe woulde ye then haue our consciences perswaded with crueltie?

L. Chan. I talke to the of no cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called vpō in that Parliament, to let that act go forwarde, yea and euen with force driuen therunto, wher as in this Parliament it was so vniformly receiued, as is afore sayd.

L. Paget. And heare my Lord Paget told me more playnely, what my Lord Chauncelour ment, vnto whom I answered.

Rogers. My Lorde what will ye conclude therby? that the fyrst Parliament was of the lesse autority, bycause but fewe condiscended vnto it, and this last Parliament of great autority because more condiscended vnto it? It goeth not (my Lord) by the more or lesser parte, but by the wyser, truer, and godlyer parte: & I would have sayd more, but the Lord Chauncelor interrupted me with his question, willing me once agayne to answer him.

L. Chan. For (sayd hee) wee haue mo to speake wyth then thou, whyche muste come in after thee. And so there

were in dede tenne persons mo oute of Newgate, besydes twoo that were not called. Of which tenne one was a Citysen of Londō, which graunted vnto them: and ix. of the [contrary], which all came to prison agayne, and refused the Cardinalles blessing, & the authority of hys holy Fathers Church, sauing that one of these .ix. [was] not asked the question, otherwyse then thus: whether he would be an honest man as his Father was before him: & answering yea, he was so discharged by the frendship of my Lord William Hawarde, (as I haue vnderstanded.) He bad me tell hym what I would do. Whether I would enter into one Church with the whole Realm as it is now, or not?

Rogers. No, [sayd I,] I will fyrst see it proued by the scriptures. Let me haue pen, ynke and bookes. &c. And I wil take vpon me playnly to set out the matter, so that the contrary shalbe proued to be true, and then let any man that wyll, conferre with me by writing.

L. Chan. Nay that shall not be permitted the. Thou shalt neuer haue so much profered the, as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, [&] wilt not now condescende, and agre to the Catholike Church. Here are .ii. thinges: mercy, and Justice: if thou refuse the Quenes mercy now, then shalt thou haue iustice ministered vnto thee.

Rogers. I neuer offended, nor was disobedient vnto her grace: and yet I wil not refuse her mercye. But if this shalbe denyed me, to conferre by writing, and to trye out the trueth, then is it not well, but to farre out of the waye. Ye your selues (all the Byshopes of the Realme) brought me to the knowledge of the pretensed primacy of the Bishop of Rome, when I was a yong man, xx. yeares past: and will ye nowe without collacion haue me to saye, and do the contrari? I cannot be so perswaded.

L. Chan. If thou wylte not receaue the Bishop of Rome, to be supreme head of the Catholyke Church, then thou shalte neuer haue her mercy, thou mayest be sure. And as touching conferring and triall: I am forbydden by the scriptures to vse any cōferring and trial with thee. For Saint Paule teacheth me, that I shall shunne and eschue an heretike, afther one or two monitions, knowing that such an one

is ouerthrowen and is faulty: in as much as he is condemned by his owne iudgement.

Rogers. My Lord, I deny that I am an Hereticke: proue ye that fyrst, and then allege the aforesayd text.

L. Chan. But still the Lord Chauncelor played on one string. If thou wilt enter into one Church with vs. &c. tell vs that, or els thou shalt neuer haue so much profered the againe as thou hast now.

Rogers. I will find it first in the scripture, and se it tried therby, before I receaue hym to be supreame head.

Worcester. Why? doo ye not know what is in your Crede, *Credo ecclesiam sanctam Catholicam:* I beleue the holy Catholike Church?

Rogers. I fynde not the Bishoppe of Rome there. For (catholike) signifieth not the Romishe Church. It signifieth the consent of all true teaching churches of al times, and of al ages. But how should the Bishop of Romes church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are playnly and directly agaynst the word of God? Can that Bishop be the true head of the Catholycke churche that doeth so? that is not possible.

L. Chan. Shew me one of them, one, one, let me heare one.

Rogers. I remembred my selfe, that amonges so many I were best to shew one, and sayd: I wyl shew you one.

L. Chan. Let me heare that, let me heare that.

Rogers. The Bishop of Rome and his Church say, read, and sing al that they do in theyr congregations, in latine, whiche is directlye and playnely agaynst the first to the Corinthes, the xiiii. chapter.

L. Chan. I deny that, I deny that: that it is against the worde of God let me see you proue that, how proue ye that?

Rogers. Thus I began to saye, the text from the begynning of the chapter. *Qui loquitur lingua* &c. to speake with tonge, sayd I, is to speke with a straunge tong: as latin or greke. &c. and so to speke, is not to speake vnto men, but to God: but ye speake in Latin, which is a straunge tonge, wherfore ye speake not vnto men, but vnto God (meaning God only

at the most): this he graunted, that they speake not vnto men, but vnto God.

Rogers. Wel then it is in vayne vnto men.

L. Chan. No not in vayne. For one man speaketh in one tonge, and another in another tonge, and all well.

Rogers. Nay I will proue then that he speaketh neither to God, nor to man, but into the winde. I was willing to haue declared how and after what sorte these two textes, do agre (For they must agre, they be both the sayings of the holy Ghost, spoken by the Apostel Paul) as to witt, to speake not to men, but vnto God, and to speake into the wind: and so to haue gon forward with the profe of my matter begonne: but here arose a noyse and a confusion, to speake vnto God, and not vnto God were vnpossible, sayd the Lord Chauncelor: I wil proue them possible (sayd I).

L. wylliā Haward. No sayd my Lord William Haward to my Lord Chauncelor; now will I beare you witnes, that he is out of the waye. For he graūted first y^{t} they which [speake] in a straunge speach, speke vnto God; and now he sayth the contrary, that they speke neyther to God nor to man.

Rogers. I haue not graunted or sayd (turning me to my Lord Haward) as ye reporte: I haue aleaged the one text, and now I come to the other: they must agre, and I can make them to agree. But as for you ye vnderstand not the matter.

L. wylliam Haward. I vnderstand so much that that is not possible.

Secretary Bourne. This is a poynte of Sophistrie quod Secretary Bourne.

L. Chan. Then the Lord chauncellor began to tel the Lord Haward, that when he was in hygh Duitchland, they at *Hale*, which had before prayed and vsed their seruice all in duitch, began then to turne parte into Latine and parte into Duitch.

Worcester. Ye and at Wittembergh to.

Rogers. Yea (but I could not be herd for the noise) in an vniuersity, where men for the most part vnderstand the Latin. And yet not al in Latine.

And I woulde haue told the order, and haue gone forward, both to haue answered my Lord, and to haue proued the

thing that I had taken in hand: but perceauing their talking and noyse to be to noysom, I was fayne to thinke this in my harte (suffering them in y^e^ meane while to talke one of them one thing, and a nother a nother.) Alas nether will these men heare me, if I speake, neyther yet will they suffre me to write. There is no reamedy but let them alone, and commit the matter to God.

Yet I began to go forward, and sayd that I would make the textes to agre, and proue al my purpose well inough.

L. Chan. No no thou canst proue nothing by the scripture, the Scripture is dead: it must haue a liuely expositor.

Rogers. No, the scripture is aliue. But let me go forwarde with my purpose.

Worcester. Al Heretikes haue alleged the scriptures for them: and therfore we must haue a liuely expositor for them.

Rogers. Yea al Heretikes haue alledged the scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the scriptures, and by none other expositor.

Worcester. But they would not confesse that they were ouercome by the scriptures. I am sure of that.

Rogers. I beleue that: and yet were they ouercom by them, and in all Counsells they were disputed with and ouerthrowē by the scriptures. And here I would haue declared how they ought to procede in these dayes, and so haue come agayne to my purpose. But it was vnpossible: the one asked one thing, another said another, that I was fayne to hold my peace and let them talke.

And euen when I would haue taken hold on my profe, the L. Chaunc. bad to prison with me againe: and away, away, sayd he, we haue moe to talke withal, if I would not be reformed (so he termed it) away away. Up I stode, for I had kneled al the while.

Sir Richarde Southwel. Then Sir Richard Southwel, who stode in a windowe by, sayde to me: thou wylt not burne in thys geare when it commeth to the purpose I know wel that.

Rogers. Sir I can not tell, but I trust to my Lorde God yes, lifting vp myne eyes vnto heauen.

Bishop of Elye. Then my Lord of Ely told me much of

the Quenes maiesties pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large woordes, saying that she tooke thē that would not receiue the Byshop of Rome his supremacy, to be vnworthye to haue her mercy. &c.

Rogers. I sayd I would not refuse her mercye, and yet I neuer offēded her in al my life, and that I besought her grace and al their honoures to be good to me, reseruing my conscience.

Diuers at once. No (quod they then, a great sorte of them, and speciallye Secretarye Bourne) a maryed priest, & haue not offended the law?

Rogers. I sayd I had not broken the Quenes law, nor yet any [poynt of the] law of the Realme therein. For I maryed where it was lawful.

Diuers at once. Wher was that (said they?) thinking that to be vnlawful in al places.

Rogers. In Dutch lande: and if ye had not here in Englande made an open lawe that Priestes might haue had wiues, I woulde neuer haue come home agayne: for I brought a wife and eyght childrē with me, which thing ye might be sure y^{t} I would not haue done, if the lawes of the Realme had not permitted it before.

Then ther was a great noise, some saying that I was come to sone with such a sorte. I should fynde a soure comming of it, and some one thing, some another. And one sayed (I could not wel perceyue who) that there was neuer catholike man or coūtry, that euer graūted that a priest might haue a wyfe.

Rogers. I sayd the Catholick church neuer denied mariage to priestes, nor yet to any other mā: and therwith was I going out of the chamber the Sergeant whych brought me thither, hauing me by the arme.

Worcester. Then the Bishop of Woorcester tourned hys face towardes me, and sayde that I wyst not where that Church was, or is.

Rogers. I sayd yes, that I could tell where it was: but therewith went the Sergeaunt wyth me out of the doore.

Thys was the very true effecte of all that was spoken vnto me, and of al that I answered therunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to all the former obiections, as also a due profe of that which I had taken in hand. But at this present I was enformed that I should to morow come to further answer. Wherfore I am compelled to leaue out that which I would most gladly haue done, desiring here the harty and vnfayned helpe of the prayers of all Christes true members, the true ympes of the true vnfayned catholike church, that the Lord God of all consolacion, will now be my comfort, ayde, strength, buckler, and shilde, as also of all my brethren that are in the same case and distres, that I & they al may despise al maner of threts, and cruelty and euen the bitter burning fyre, & the dreadfull darte of death, and stick lyke true souldiours to our deare and louing capteine Christ, our onely redemer, and Sauiour, and also the onely true head of the Church, that doth al in vs al, which is the very property of an head (and is a thing that al the Byshops of Rome can not do) and that wee do not traiterously runne out of hys tents, or rather out of the playne fyeld from him, in the most ieoperdye of the battaile, but that we maye perseuer in the fight (if he will not other wise delyuer vs) til we be most cruelly slayne of hys enemyes. For thys I most hartely, and at this present with weping teares most instantly & earnestlye desire and besech you al to praye. And also, if I dye, to be good to my poore and most honest wyfe, being a poore straunger, and al my lytle soules, her and my chyldren. Whome with all the whole faythfull and true catholike congregation of Christ, the Lord of lyfe & death saue, keepe, & defend in al the troubles and assaultes of thys vayne world, and bring at the last to euerlasting saluacion, the true & sure enheritaunce of al crossed Christians. Amen. Amen.

The .xxvii. day of January at nyght.

THE SECONDE CONFESSION OF JOHN ROGERS, MADE & THAT SHOULD HAUE BENE MADE (IF I MIGHT HAUE BEN HARD) THE .28. & .29. DAY OF JANUARY. 1555.

First being asked agayne by the lord Chaũcelour, whether I woulde come into one Churche with the Bishops &

whole Realme, as now was concluded by Parliament, in the whyche all the Realme was conuerted to the Catholike church of Rome, and so receiue the mercy before profered me, arisyng again with the whole Realme, out of the schisme & error in which we had long bene, with recantation of my errors: I answered, that before I could not wel tel what this mercy ment, but now I vnderstoode that it was a mercye of the Antichristian Church of Rome, which I vtterly refused, & that the rysyng [which] he spake of, was a very fall into errour and false doctrine. Also that I had and would be able by Gods grace, to proue that al the doctrine which I had euer taught, was true and Catholike, and that by the scriptures and the authority of the fathers that lyued foure hundred yeres after Christes death. He answered, that shoulde not, myght not, nor ought not be graũted me. For I was but a priuate man, and myght not be heard against the determinatiõ of the whole realme. Shoulde (quoth he) when a Parliament hath concluded a thyng, one, or any priuate person haue authoritye to discusse, whether they had done right or wrong? No that maye not be. I answered shortlye, that all the lawes of men might not, neyther coulde rule the woorde of God, but that they all must be discussed & iudged thereby, and obey thereto. And my conscience, nor no Christian mans could be satisfied with such lawes as disagreed from that word wyllyng to haue sayd much more. But the L. Chauncelour began a long long tale to verye small purpose, concernyng myne answer, to haue defaced me, that there was nothyng in me, wherefore I should be heard, but arogancy, pride, and vayne glorye. I also graunted myne ignorauncy to be greater then I could expresse, or then he tooke it: but yet that I feared not by Gods assistaunce and strength, to be able by wryting to perfourme my woord, neither was I (I thanked God) so vtterlye ignoraunt, as he would make me, but al was of God, to whom be thankes rendred therefore. Proude man was I neuer, nor yet vayne glorious: Al the world knew well where and on whych syde pryde, arrogancy and vayne glory was. It was a poore pride that was or is in vs, God it knoweth.

Then sayd he, that I at the fyrst dashe condempned the

Quene and the whole Realme, to be of the Churche of Antichrist, and burdened me hyghly therwythal. I answered that the Queenes maiestye (God saue her grace) woulde haue done well inough, if it had not bene for hys counsel. He said the Quene went before hym, and it was her owne motion. I sayde wythout fayle, I neyther coulde nor I would euer beleue it.

Doctour Aldrise. Then sayd Doctour Aldrise the Byshop of Carlile, that they the Byshops woulde beare him wytnes. Yea (quoth I) that I beleue wel, and wyth that the people laughed. For that day there were many: but on the morow they had kept the doores shut, and would let none in, but the Bishops adherentes & seruauntes in maner, yea and the first day the thousande man came not in. Then maister Comptroler, and Secretary Bourne, would haue stand vp also to beare wytnes, and dyd.

I sayd it was no great matter: and to saye the truth I thought that they were good helpers thereto them selues: but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were to stronge and myghtye of power, and that they shoulde be beleued before me, yea and before our sauiour Christ, and all hys prophetes and Apostles thereto, in these dayes.

Then after manye woordes he asked me, what I thought concernyng the blessed Sacrament, and stoode vp and put of hys cap, & all hys felow Bishops (of which there were a great sort new men, of whom I knewe fewe) whether I beleued in the sacrament to be the very bodye and blood of our Sauiour Christ that was borne of the virgin Mary, and hanged on the crosse, really and substantially?

I answered, I had often tolde hym that it was a matter in whych I was no medler, and therefore suspected of my brethren to bee of a contrarye opinion. Not wythstandyng, euen as the moste parte of your doctrine in other poyntes is false, and the defence thereof onelye by force and crueltye: so in thys matter I thinke it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot vnderstand (really & substancially) to signyfy otherwise then corporally: but corporally Christ is onely in heauen, and so can not Christ be corporally also in your

sacrament. And hear I somewhat set out his charity after this sorte. My Lord (quod I) ye haue delte with me most cruellye. For ye haue set me in prison without law, and kept me there, now almost a yeare and a halfe. For I was almost halfe a yeare in my house, where I was obedient unto you, (God it knoweth), and spake with no man. And nowe haue I bene a full yere in Newgate, at great costes and charges, hauyng a wyfe and .x. children to fynde, and I had neuer penye of my lyuinges, whych was agaynst the law.

He answered that Doctour Rydley, whych had geuen them me, was an vsurper, & therefore I was the uniust possessour of them.

Was the Kynge then an vsurper (quod I) which gaue doctour Ridley the Bishoprike?

Yea (quod he) & began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the Bishop of London, and to him selfe also. But yet I do misuse my termes (quod he) to call the king vsurper. But the woorde was gone out of the aboundaunce of the hart before: and I thyncke that he was not very sorye for it in hart. I myght haue sayed more concerning that matter, but I dyd not.

I asked hym wherfore he set me in prison. He said because I preached against y^e^ Quene.

I answered that it was not true: & I wold be bound to proue it, and to stand to the tryal of the law, that no mā shuld be able to proue it, and thereupon woulde set my lyfe. I preached (quoth I) a Sermon at the Crosse, after the Queene came to the Tower: but therein was nothyng sayd agaynst the Quene. I take wytnes of all the Audience, whyche was not smal. I alledged also that he had after examinacion let me go at libertye, after the preaching of that Sermon.

Yea, but thou dydst reade thy lectures after (quoth he) agaynste the commaundement of the Counsell.

That dyd I not (quod I): let that be proued and let me dye for it. Thus haue ye nowe agaynst the law of God and man handled me, and neuer sent for me, neuer conferred wyth me, neuer spoken of any learnynge, tyll nowe that ye haue gottē a whyp to whip me with, and a swearde to cut of

my necke, if I wyl not condiscende vnto your mynde. This charitye doth al the worlde vnderstande.

I myght and would haue added, if I could haue bene sufferd to speake, that it had bene tyme ynough to take awaye mens lyuinges, and thereto to haue prysoned them, after that they had offended lawes. For they be good Citizens that breake not lawes, and worthye of prayse, and not of punishment. But theyr purpose is to keepe men in pryson so longe, vntyl they maye catche them in theyr lawes, and so kyl them. I could and woulde haue added the example of Daniel, which by a craftye deuised law was cast into the Lyons denne. Item, I myghte haue declared, that I most humblye desired to be set at liberty, sendynge my wyfe to hym with a Supplication, beynge great wyth childe, and with her eyghte honest women, or ther about to Richemond, at Christmas was a twelue moneth, whyles I was yet in my house.

Item, I wrote two Supplications to him oute of Newgate, and sent my wyfe manye tymes to hym. Maister Gosnalde also, that woorthye man, who is now departed in the Lorde, laboured for me, and so did diuers other woorthye men also take paynes in the matter. These things declare my Lord Chancellours Antichristian charitye, which is, that he hath and doth seeke my bloude, and the destruction of my poore wyfe and my ten Chyldren.

This is a shorte summe of the woordes which were spoken the .xxviii. daye of January, at after noone, after that Maister Hooper hadde bene the first, and Cardemaker the seconde in examination before me. The Lorde graunt vs grace to stand together, fightinge lawfully in hys cause, till we be smitten down together, if the Lordes wyl be so to permit it. For ther shal not a hear of our heades perish against his wyl, but with his wyl. Whereunto the same Lord graunt vs to be obedient vnto the ende, and in the ende. Amen. Sweete mighty and mercyful Lord, Jesus the Sonne of Dauid and of God. Amen, amen let euery true Christian saye and pray.

Then the clocke being, as I gessed aboute foure, the Lorde Chauncellour sayd, that he & the Churche must yet vse charitye with mee, (what manner of charitie it is, all true

Christians doo well vnderstande, as to wytte, the same tha the Foxe dothe with the chyckens, and the Woulfe with the Lambes) and gaue me respite tyll to morrowe, to see whether I woulde remember my selfe well to morrowe to come to the catholicke Churche (for so hee calleth his Antichristian false Church) agayn, and repent, and they woulde receiue mee to mercye.

I sayde that I was neuer oute of the true catholicke Churche, nor woulde be: but into hys churche, would I, by Gods grace, neuer come.

Well, quod he, then is oure churche false and Antichristian.

Yea quoth I.

And what is the doctrine of the Sacrament?

False quod I, and cast my handes abroad.

Then said one, that I was a player, to whō I answered not. For I passed not vppon hys mocke.

Come agayne, quod the Lorde Chauncelour, to morrowe betwene nine and ten.

I am readye to come agayne, when so euer ye call, quod I.

And thus was I broughte by the Shirifs to the Counter in Southwarke, Maister Hoper goynge before me, and a great multitude of people beyng present, so that we had much to do to go in the streetes.

Thus muche was done the .xxviii. daye of January.

The second day, whych was the .xxix. of January we wer sent for in the mornyng about ix. of the clocke, and by the Shiriffes fetched from the Counter in Southwarcke, to the churche agayne, as to wyt, to Saynte Marye Oueries, where wee were the daye before in the after noone, as is sayde. And when Mayster Hooper was condempned, as I vnderstoode afterwarde, then sent they for me. Thē the Lorde Chauncelour sayde vnto me.

Rogers, quoth hee, here thou wast yesterdaye, and wee gaue thee liberty to remember thy selfe this nighte, whether thou wouldest come to the holy catholicke church of Christe agayne or not: tel vs now what thou hast determined,

whether thou wilte be repentaunt and sorye, and wilte re-turne agayne and take mercye.

My Lorde quod I, I haue remembred my selfe right wel, what you yesterdaye laide for you, and desire you to geue mee leaue to declare my minde what I haue to say therunto, and that done, I shal answer you to your demaunded question.

When I yesterday desired that I myght be suffered by the Scripture and the autority of the first, best and purest church to defende my doctrine by writing (meaninge not onelye of the primacy: but also of all the doctrine that euer I had preached) ye answered mee that it might not, nor ought not be graunted me: for I was a priuate person, and that the Parliament was aboue the autoritye of all priuate persones, and therefore the sentence thereof might not be founde fautye and valureles by me, beyng but a priuate person.

And yet my Lorde I am able to shew examples, that one man hath come into a generall Counsell, and after the whole had determined and agreed vppon an acte or article, that same one man commyng in afterwarde, hath by the word of God, declared so pithely that the Counsel had erred in decreing the sayde article, that he caused the whole Counsell to chaunge and aulter theyr acte or Article before determined.

And of these examples (sayed I) I am able to shewe two. I can also shewe the autoritye of saint Augustine, that when he disputed with an heritike, would neyther him selfe, nor yet haue the heretike to leane vnto the determination of two former Councells, of the which the one made for him and the other for the heretike that disputed agaynst hym: but sayed that he would haue the Scriptures to be their iudge, which were common and indifferent for them bothe, and not proper to eyther of theym. Item I could shew (sayd I) the autoritie of a learnd lawier Panormitanus which sayeth, that vnto a simple laye man, that bringeth the worde of God with hym, there ought more credite to be geuen, than to a whole Coūcell gathered to gether. By these thinges will I proue that I ought not to be denied to saye my mynde, and to be harde agaynste a whole Parliament, bringing the worde of God

for me, and the Autoritye of the old Church 400. yeares after Christe, albeit that euery man in the Parliament, had willingly and wythout respecte of feare and fauour agreed therevnto (whyche thyng I doubte not a lyttle of, speciallye seynge the lyke had bene permitted in that old Church, euen in generall Councells, yea and that in one of the chiefest Councells that euer was, vnto which neyther any actes of this Parliament, nor yet anye of the late generall Councels of the Byshoppes of Rome, ought to be compared.) For, sayd I, if Henry the .viii. were [aliue], and should cal a Parliamēt, and begyn to determine a thyng, (and here I would haue alleged the example of the act of making the Queene a Bastarde, and of makyng him self the Superiour head, but I coulde not beynge interrupted of one, whom God forgeue) than wyll ye (poyntyng to my Lord Chauncelour) and ye and ye, and so you al (poyntyng to the rest of the bishops) say Amen? yea & it lyke your grace, it is mete that it be so enacted. &c.

Here my Lord Chauncelour woulde suffer me to speake no more: he bad me syt downe mockyngly, saying that I was sent for to bee instructed of them, and I woulde take vpon me to be theirInstructer.

My Lord (quod I) I stande and syt not: shal I not be suffered to speake for my lyfe?

Shall wee suffer thee to tell a tale and to prate (quod he)? and with that he stoode vppe, and began to face me, after hys olde arrogant proude fashion: for he perceyued that I was in a waye to haue touched them some what, which thyng he thought to hinder, by dashing me out of my tale, and so he dyd. For I coulde neuer be suffered to come to my tale agayne. No not to one woorde of it: but he had much lyke communication wyth me, as hee had the day before, & as his maner is taunt for taunt, and checke for checke. For in that case (beyng Gods cause) I tolde hym he should not make me afrayde to speake.

L. Chan. See what a spirite thys felow hath, sayd he, fyndyng faulte at myne accustomed earnestnes, and harty maner of speakyng.

Rogers. I haue a true spirite, quoth I, agreyng and

obeying the word of God, and would further haue sayed, that I was neuer the worse but the better, to be earnest in a iust and true cause and in my Master Christes matters: but I might not be heard. And at the length he proceded towardes hys excommunication and condempnation, after that I had tolde hym, that his Churche of Rome was the churche of Antichrist, meaning the false Doctrine and tyrannicall lawes, wyth [the maintenance thereof] by cruell persecution, vsed by the Byshops of the sayde churche (of whych the Byshop of winchester, and the rest of his fellow byshops that are now in England, are the chief members): [of lawes] I meane [(quoth I) and] not [of] all women which are in the Pope's churche: likewise when I was saied to haue denied their sacrament (wherof he made his wonted reuerent mention, more to maintaine his kingdome thereby, then for the true reuerence of Christes institucion, more for his own and hys popyshe generations sake, then for religion or Gods sake) I tolde hym after what order I dyd speake of it: for the maner of his speaking was not agreyng to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had the .28. of January, wherwith he was not cõented: but he asked y^e^ audience whether I had not symply denyed the Sacrament. They woulde haue sayde, and dyd what he lusted: for the moste of them were of hys owne seruauntes, at that day, the .29. daye of January I meane. At the last I sayde, I wyll neuer denye it that I sayde, that is that your doctrine of the Sacrament is false: but yet I tel you after what order I sayd it.

To be short he red my condempnacion before me particularly, mentioning therin, but two Articles, y^t^ the Romish catholike Church is y^e^ church of Antichrist, & that I denyed the realyty of their Sacrament. He cursed me to be disgraded, and condempned, and put into the handes of the Laytye. And so he gaue me ouer into the Shiriffes handes, whyche were much better then hys.

After this [sentence beyng read] he sent vs (Mayster Hoper I mean & me) to y^e^ Clink, ther to remaine til night: & whē it was dark, they caried vs, Master Hoper goyng before wyth the one shrief, and I comming after wyth the

other, with billes and weapons enowe, out of the Clink, and led vs thorow the Byshops house, & so thorow Saynte Marie Ouerayes churchyeard, and so into Southwerke, and ouer the bridge on procession to Newgat throwe the Cytye: But I muste shewe you thys also, that when he had redde the condempnation, he declared that I was in the great curse, and what a vengeable dangerous matter it wer to eate and drinke wyth vs that were accursed, or to geue vs any thinge, for all that so dyd shoulde be partakers of the same great curse.

Well my Lord (quod I) here I stand before God and you, and al thys honorable Audiēce and take hym to wytnesse, that I neuer wittinglye or willingye taughte any false doctrine. And therfore haue I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteouse, before whome I shall be as good a man as you: and I nothing doute but that I shall be found there a true member of the true Catholike Churche of Christ and euerlastingly saued. And as for your false church, ye nede not to excommunicat me fourth of it. I haue not bene in it these twentye yeares, the Lord be thanked therfore: but now ye haue done what ye can, my Lord, I praye you yet graūt me one thinge.

What is that, quod he?

That my poore wife being a straunger, may come and speake with me so longe as I lyue: for she hath tenne chyldren, that are hers and myne, and somewhat I would counsell her what were best for her to do.

No (quod he) she is not thy wyfe.

Yeas my Lord (quod I), and hath bene these eightene yeares.

Should I graunt her to be thy wife, quod he?

Chouse you, quod I, whether ye will or not: shee shall bee so neuer the lesse.

She shall not come at thee, quod he.

Then I haue tried out all your charity, sayd I: ye make your selfe highlye displeased with the matrimony of Priestes. But ye maintain their open whordom: as in Wales (quod I) where euery Priest hath his whore, openly dwelling with

him and lying by hym: euen as your holy father suffereth all the priestes in Duch land and in Fraũce to do the lyke. Therto he answered not, but loked as it wer asquinte at it: and thus I departed, and sawe hym last.

* Hitherto derely beloued ye haue heard what was sayd: nowe heare what I purposed the night before to haue sayd if I could haue bene permitted. Two thinges I purposed to haue touched. The one how it was lawfull for a priuate man to reason and write agaynst a wicked acte of Parliament, or an vngodly counsell, which the Lord Chauncelor the daye before denyed mee. Thother was to proue that prosperity was not alwayes a token of gods loue.

And thys I purpose to speake of, because the Lord Chauncelor bosted of him selfe that he was deliuered fourth of prison, as it were by miracle, and preserued of God to restore true religion, and to punish me and such other, whom he termed heretikes. Cõcerning these .ii. poyntes in this maner I purposed to haue proceaded. It is not unknowẽ to you y^{t} King Henry the .viii. in his tyme made hys daughter the Quene that now is, a bastard: he abolished the authority of the Bishop of Rome, he pulled downe Abbeys, and al this he dyd by the consent of Parliament.

King Edward the .vi. in his tyme made lawfull the mariage of Priestes, turned the seruice into English, abolished y^{e} Idolatrous Masse, with all like supersticious trumpery set vp the holy Communion, and all by consent of Parliament.

The Quene that now is hath repealed the act that made her Bastard, hath brought in the Byshop of Rome, and set him in hys olde authority, beginneth to set vp abbyes agayne, hath made the mariage of priestes vnlawfull, hath turned the English seruice into Latine agayne, hath set vp

* Foxe succeeded, in the following paraphrase, or attempted abridgment of Rogers' MS., in keeping, for the most part, within hailing distance of its general features. It is not, therefore, designed to dissect his production particularly, as the simple comparison of the two versions will be sufficient to establish the charges already made, but only to direct special attention to the grossest violations and misrepresentations of the original language and its meaning.

the masse agayne with like baggage, and pulled downe the holy communion: and all this is done by consent of Parliament.

Yf the Actes of Parliament made in King Henries tyme, and in king Edwardes had theyr foũdation vpon Gods word, whervpon al positiue lawe ought to be grounded, then these which are stablished in the Quenes time, being cleane contrary to the others as they are not warranted by Gods worde, so are they wicked, and therfore to be bothe spoken, and written agaynst of all men, as wel of pryuate as of publique persons.

Yf your Actes, my Lorde Chauncellor * which you haue lately coyned (I call them yours, because ye onely bear the swinge, deuise, and decre, what ye list al other men are forced to folow,) be good, and according to Gods woord, then the former Actes were naught, which thing ye seme to say, in vtterly taking of them awai, and setting vp of the contrary: if the former were nought, why then dyd ye consent vnto them, and confirme them to be good by your voluntary and aduised wrytynge as it appeareth, and will to the worldes end in your boke, *de uera obedientia*, wher you proue the Quene a Bastard and the Byshop of Rome to be an vsurper, and to haue no autority in the Realme of England?

Ye must nedes confesse that, the moste parte of your Actes of Parliament in these latter dayes, haue bene according to the fantasies of a fewe. King Henry in hys tyme establyshed by Parliament in a manner what he listed, and many thinges that might well haue bene amended. In King Edwardes dayes the Duke of Somerset and Northumberlande bare a greate stroke in thinges, and did not al thinges syncerely.† Euen so, since the Quene that now is,

* Foxe, throughout his paraphrase, makes Rogers directly address Gardiner, and sometimes rather uncivilly and bombastically. The language of the MS. will not admit of these constructions. He merely recorded what he intended to have said, and seems rather to have been addressing those into whose hands his writings might fall, and his posthumous audience generally.

† Rogers expresses no such opinion — especially concerning the Duke of Somerset — and says nothing that can possibly be so construed. He refers to them merely to show that the Popish priests yielded to them when in authority, as they did to every ruling power in turn. Foxe impertinently thrusts upon us his own personal estimate of these two men, and attributes it to Rogers.

came to the gouernment of the Realme, al thinges are ordered by your deuise, and head, and the whole parliament house is led as you list, by reason whereof they are compelled to condiscende to thinges both contrary to Gods manifest word, and also contrary to theyr owne consciences: so great is your cruelty.

For, to bringe your wicked purposes to passe, and to establish your Antichristiā kingdom (which I trust the Lord with the breath of his mouthe wyll spedelye blowe ouer) ye haue called thre Parliamentes in one yeare and an halfe, that what you could not compasse by subtile perswasion ye might bringe to passe by tirannicall threatening: for if ye hadde not vsed cruell force in your doinges, ye hadde neuer brought to passe such things as thys daye ye haue, to the vtter defacinge and abolishynge of Gods true religion, and to the castinge awaye and destruction of your natural Country, so much as in you lyeth.

And as it is most true that Actes of Parliament haue in these latter dayes bene ruled by the fantasies of a few, and the whole Parliament house, contrarye to their myndes was compelled to consent to suche thinges as a fewe had conceiued: So it must needes be graunted that the Papistes at all tymes were most ready to apply them selues to the present world, and lyke men pleasers to follow the fantasies of suche as were in autoritye, and turne with the estate, which way so euer it turned. Yea, if the estate shuld chaūge ten tymes in one yeare *, they woulde euer be ready at hand to chaunge with it, and so followe the crye, and rather vtterlye to forsake God, and be of no religion, then that they woulde foregoe lust or lyuing for God, or for religion.

King Henry by Parlyament according to Gods word put downe the Pope: the clergy consented, and all men openly by othe refused this vsurped Supremacy, knowinge by Gods worde Christ to be head of the Church, and euery

* Foxe here perverts, and renders almost ridiculous, what Rogers really urged with much force. There is a vast difference between having a new King every two years, and ten in one year! The one proposition is possible and reasonable; the other absurd and preposterous.

kinge in his Realme to haue vnder and next vnto Christ, the cheife Soueraingty. King Edward also by Parliament according to God's word, set the mariage of Priestes at liberty, abolished the popyshe and idolatrous Masse, chaunged the latine seruice, and set vp the holy Communion: the whole clergy consented hereunto: manye of them set it foorthe by their preaching: and all they by practising confirmed the same.*

Notwithstanding, now when the state is altered, and the lawes changed, the Papistical clergy with other, like worldlinges, as men neither fearing God, neyther flyenge worldly shame, neyther yet regardyng their cōsciences, othes, or honesty, like wauering wether cockes, turne round about, and putting on harlottes foreheades, singe a newe song, and cry with an impudēt mouth: come againe, come again to the Catholike Church, meanyng the Antichristian church of Rome which is the sinagog of Sathan, and the verye sincke of all supersticion, heresye and Idolatrye.†

Of what force I pray you maye a man thynke these Parliamentes to bee, whiche scantlye can stande a yeare in strengthe? or what credite is to bee geuen to these lawe makers, which are not ashamed to establish contrarye lawes, and to condempne that for euyll whiche before (the thing in it selfe and the circumstances remayning all one) they affirmed, and decreed to bee good. Trulye ye are so readye, contrarye to all ryghte to chaunge and tourne for the pleasure of man, that at the lengthe I feare, God wil vse you like chaungelinges, and both turne you fourth of his kingdom, and out of your owne countrye.

Ye charge the gospel preachers wyth the vndoing of this realme: nay it is the turning Papistes, which haue not onely set a sale their country lyke traytors, but also troubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they maye beleue. For that which they affirmed, & preached to be

* Rogers was careful to say that a large and certain number of the clergy, and many of the Bishops, did so; but Foxe makes him embrace every Popish ecclesiastic in the realm.

† This is a purely Foxian rhodomontade, nowhere to be found in the MS.

new doctrin in King Edwards dayes, now they crye agaynst it, as it were most abominable heresy. This fault I trust ye shall neuer fynd at our hands.*

Therfore, to conclude that which I purposed, for so much as the Actes of Parliament of these latter tymes are one contrarye to another, and those whych ye nowe haue stablished in your tyme, are contrarye to gods most manifeste worde, as is the vsurped supremacye of the Bushoppe of Rome, the Idolatrouse masse, the Latine seruice, the prohibiting of laufull mariage (which saint Paule calleth the Doctrine of deuyls) wyth manye suche other: I saye it is not onely laufull for any priuate man, which bringeth gods word for hym, and the autoritye of the primatiue and best churche, to speake and write against suche vnlaufull lawes, but it is his dutye and he hys bounde in verye conscience to do it: which thing I haue proued by diuers examples before, and now will adde to but one other, which is written in the fifth of the acts, wher it appeareth that the high Priestes, the elders, Scribes, & Pharisies decreed in their Councell, and gaue the same commaundement to the Apostles, that they shoulde not preache in the name of Christ, as ye haue also forbidden vs: notwithstandynge when they were charged therwythall, they answered. *Obedire oportet deo magis quam hominibus* that is, we ought more to obeye God then man: euen so we maye and do aunswer you. God is more to be obeied then mā: and your wycked lawes can not so tongue tye vs, but we will speake the truth.†

The Apostels were beaten for their boldnes, and they reioyced that they suffered for Christes cause. Ye haue also prouided roddes for vs, and blouddy whyppes: yet when ye haue done that whyche Goddes hande and counsell hathe determined, that ye shall doo, bee it lyfe or death, I

* Notice how meagerly and barrenly, in this paragraph, Foxe disposes of an important matter, which Rogers treated at length, and most effectively.

† This entire paragraph is Foxe's, and his only; and so is most of the following one. Whether it does or does not contain sound doctrine, is of no consequence: it certainly is not what Rogers wrote, which is what Foxe professed to give us.

trust that God wyll so assiste vs by hys holye spirite, and grace, that wee shall pacientlye suffer it, and prayse God for it: and whatsoeuer become of me and others, whych nowe suffer for speakynge, and professynge of the truthe, yet bee ye sure that Goddes woorde wyll preuayle and haue the ouer hande, when your bloudy lawes and wycked decrees, for want of sure foundation, shall fall in the dust: and that whiche I haue spoken of youre actes of parliament, the same maye bee sayde of the general Councels of these latter dayes, which haue beene within these fiue hundreth yeares, where as the Antichrist of Rome, by reason of his vsurped authorite ruled the roste, and decreed suche thynges as made for his gayne, not regardynge Goddes glorie: and therefore are they to bee spoken, wrytten, and cried against of all suche as feare God, and loue his truth.

And thus muche I purposed to haue sayde, concerning the fyrst poynt.

Nowe touchynge the seconde poynt. That where as my Lorde Chauncelour hadde the daye before sayed his pleasure of them that ruled the Realme, whyle he was in pryson, and also reioyced as though God hadde made this alteration, euen for his sake and his catholike churche, as he calleth it, and to declare as it were by myracle, that wee weare before in a Schisme and Heresye, and the Realme was now brought to an vnitie, and to a truth, and I can not tell wherto: Therto was I fully purposed to haue sayde. Secondly, my lord, where as ye yesterdaye so hyghlye dispraysed the gouernement of them that ruled in innocent Kynge Edwardes dayes, it maye please your Lordshyppe to vnderstande, that we poore Preachers, whome ye so euill allow, did moost boldly and playnlye rebuke their euill gouernaunce in many thynges, specially their couetousnes, and neglecte and small regarde to lyue after the Gospell: as also theyre negligence to occasion other to liue thereafter, with mo thynges then I can nowe rehearse. This can al London testifie with vs. I would also haue tolde hym, what I my selfe for my parte dyd once at Paules Crosse, concernynge the mysuse of Abbeyes, and other Churche goodes: and I am assured ryght well, that neuer a Papiste of them all

dyd euer so muche therein as I dyd, I thanke the Lorde therfore: I was also (as it is well knowen) fayne to aunswere therfore before all the Counsell, and many of my brethren dyd the lyke, so that wee for the not rebukynge of theyr faultes, shall not aunswere before God, nor bee blame worthy before menne. Therefore lette the Gentlemen and Courtiers them selues, and al the Citezens of London, testifie what we dyd.

But my Lord, you could not abyde them, for that whiche they dyd vnto you, and for that they were of a contrary Religion vnto you. Wherefore in that you seame so infest against them, it is neither any iust or publique cause, but it is your owne pryuate hate, that maketh you to reporte so euyll of their gouernaunce. And ye maye nowe saye what ye lyst of them, when they be partely dead and goone, and partly by you put out of office.

But what shalbe sayde of you when youre fal shal follow, ye shal then heare. And I must saye my conscience to you: I feare me ye haue and wyll with your gouernaunce bryng Englande out of Goddes blessynge into a warme sunne. I praye God you doo not.

I am an Englyshe man borne, and God knoweth, do naturally wyshe wel to my countrye. And my Lorde, I haue often proued, that the thinges whiche I haue muche feared afore hande should come to passe, haue in deede followed. I praye God I may fayle of my gessing in this behalfe: but truly that will not be with expellyng the true woorde of God out of the Realme, & with sheading of innocent bloud.

And as touching your reioycing, as though God had set you aloft to punish vs by myracle, (for so you reporte and bragge openly of yourself) and to minister iustice, if we wyll not receaue your holye fathers mercy, and thereby to declare your churche to bee true, and ours false, to that I answere thus: Goddes workes be wonderfull, and are not to bee comprehended, and perceyued by mans wysdome, not by the wyt of the moost wyse and prudent. Yea, they are sonest deceiued, and doo moost easely iudge amysse of Goddes wonderfull workes, that are moste worldly wyse.

God hathe made all the wysdome of this worlde folyshenes. 1 Corinthians, the first, and the seconde chap. Dedit dilectam animam suam in manus inimicorum eius. Hierem. xii. That is, He doth put his beloued and deare hart, into the handes of the enemies thereof.

This thyng dothe God, whiche thynge all wyse menne accompte to be the moost foolyshe and vnwyse part that can bee. Wyll the wyse of the worlde (trowe ye) put theyr moost dere frendes and tenderlye beloued chyldren, into their enemies handes, to kyll, slaye, burne? &c. that is vnto them a madnes aboue al madnes. And yet dothe God vse this order, and this is an hyghe and syngular wysdome in his syght, whiche the worlde taketh to be moost extreme madnes.

Can the woorlde shewe a cause why hee suffered the great multitude of innocent chyldren to bee murthered of Herode, of Ascalon, or why hee putte that moost holye man John Baptiste, into the handes of Herode, his sonne to be headed, and that in pryson secretly without open iudgement moost tyrannouslye? why he suffered his beloued Apostle James, to be beheaded of another Herode. Act xii.? why he suffered his beloued sead of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to bee foure hundred yeares in thraldome and bondage, and vnder Pharao? And all the stocke of Juda and Beniamin his beloued chyldren and churche, to come vnder the power, sweard, and tyranny of Nabuchodonosor? No verely, but his true catholyke churche knoweth dyuerse causes hereof, which are nowe to longe to reherce, and whiche I would ryght gladly shewe, if I hadde tyme.

But this I am right sure of, that it was not because that the aforesayd godly men were in heresies, and subiect to false gods seruices, and Idolatrie, and that their aduersaries were mē of God, and beloued of God. The contrarye was true: John Baptist was beloued of God, and Herode hated, and so forth of the rest: and John Baptist, the innocent children, James, the chyldren of Israell, in Egypt, and in Babylon, were the catholike members and people of God: and their aduersaries, into whose handes they were put and delyuered, and that of God, and by his

good wyll and pleasure were Idolatrers and the people of the Deuill: but they would be called the chief members of God, and reioyced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by myracle, that the Israelites had but a false God, and a false religiō, seing they were deliuered into the Babilonians handes. And all the other (the Herodes and Pharao I meane) plainly determined, that if the men whiche they killed and handled euil, had been Gods people, God would neuer haue suffered them to come into their handes, but rather haue done the contrary, and haue let John Baptist kyll Herode, & the Israelites Pharao, and Nabuchodonosor. Euen the lyke is nowe to be seen in vs, and in our most cruell aduersaries. They are not therfore the catholike churche, because oure mercifull God hath at this present geuen our liues into their handes: neither are we therfore heretikes, because we suffer punishment at their handes, as the Lorde Chauncelour by his reioycing, semeth to gather: the cōtrary is hereby to be gathered, that we be the members of the true catholyke church, because we suffer for the same doctrine whiche John Baptist, James, the Israelites yea Christ, & the Apostles, did teach: of whiche none taught any thing of our aduersaries doctrine, namely that the rotten Antichristiū head of Rome, should be y^e^ head of Christes churche: But they haue manifestly taught the cōtrary, specially Paul .ii. to the Thessalonians, the second chapter. John in the Apocalipse, Dan. xi. which thing, if I might haue life and bookes, I would so (by Gods grace) set forth, that al the world should see it: and that oure aduersaries with their Antichristian head, are the mēbers of the deuills church, as they vndoubtedly are. And in like case, as the aboue mencioned holye men, though they in their dayes, were counted to be heretikes, sediciouse, and disturbers of the whole world, (for vnto John Baptiste it was sayde, John. 1. Wherfore baptisest thou, if thou be not Helias, nor that Prophet? &c. as who saye, thou haste no suche autoritie to begynne a newe ceremonie in the churche: for we be in ordinary possession of the churche: and of vs thou hast receiued no such power: we abide by our circumcision: and the lyke coulde I declare of James,

and of all the Apostles and Prophetes, and of our Sauiour Christe hymselfe, that they were all condemned as heretykes and blasphemers of God, and disturbers of the whole worlde. Paule and Silas. Act .16. heard like wordes of the Philippians: these mē trouble oure citie, seyng they are Jewes, and preache institutions, whiche are not lawfull for vs to receiue, seyng we be Romaines. And in the xvii. In Athens, the wyse menne of this worlde, and suche as gaue their endeuour to wysdome, sayde by saint Paule: *Quid vult spermologus hic dicere?* that is, what will this prater (as my Lord Chauncelor sayde to me, shall we suffer this fellowe to prate, when I would fayne haue sayde that thyng, that I haue here wrytten) trifler, newes cariar, or bryngar, that telleth what so euer men wyll haue hym, for gayne and aduauntage, that wil for a piece of bread saye what ye wyll haue him. &c. And an other sayde in the same place: he seameth to be a Preacher of newe deuels. &c. And Act. xxi. The Jewes saye by Paule, laying handes on him, helpe O ye Israelites (say they) this is the man that teacheth al mē euery where against the people (meaning the Jewes) and the lawe and this place (meaning Jerusalem) and yet was neuer a word of these true. And Act. 22. the same Jewes sayde of Paule: out of the earthe with that man, or away with hym, for it is not lawfull for hym to lyue, or he is not worthy to lyue. And how many mo of these examples are to be founde in the Bible? Although (I saye) these men were in their dayes taken for heretikes, of them that were then in autoritie, and of the great multitude of the worlde, yet it is now wel knowē, yea & very shortly after their deathes this was knowē: yea & euē in their lyues also vnto the true Catholike churche, that they were not onely the chief and special members of the true catholike churche, but also the founders and builders thereof, (notwithstanding the synister iudgement, that the wyse and myghtie men, and the great multitude of the world had of them) and in their consciences they were alwayes assuredly certified of the same. Euen the same shall the world finde true in vs, shortly after our deaths, as also ther be at this houre (the lord be thanked therfore) not a few, y^{t} already

know it, as we our selfes also are by Gods grace assuredlye certified in our consciences, that we are no heretykes, but members of the true catholike churche, & that our aduersaries the byshops and Popysh clergie, whiche wyll haue that title, are the members of Sathans churche, and their Antichristian head of Rome with them.

But here they wyll crie out: lo these menne wilbe stil lyke John Baptist, the Apostles, and the Prophetes. &c.

I aunswere, we make not oure selues lyke vnto them, in the singular vertues and giftes of God, geuē vnto them: as of miracles doyng and of many other things. The similitude and likenes of them and vs, consisteth not in all things, but only in this, that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the suffering of persecution and infamie for the same.

We haue preached their very doctrine and none other thyng: y^{t} we are able sufficiently to declare by their writinges: and by wryting for my part, I haue profered to proue the same (as is now often sayd). And for this cause we suffer the like reproche, shame, and rebuke of the world, and the like persecution, lesing of our liues & goods, forsaking (as our master Christ commaundeth) father, mother, syster, brethrē, wifes, children, and al that, there is, being assured of a ioyfull resurrection, and to bee crowned in glory with them, according to the vnfallible promises made vnto vs in Christ, our only and sufficient mediatour, reconcilor, priest and sacrifice, which hathe pleased the father, & quieted & pacified his wrath agaīst our sinnes, and made vs without spotte or wrynkle in his sight by imputatiō, although we of and in our selfes ar bespotted, & beblotted with many filthie sinnes, which if y^{e} great mercy graūted in Christ, did not put away, by not imputing thē vnto vs of his measureles vnspeakeable mercy and loue to saue vs, they would haue brought vs to euerlasting damnation, and death perpetuall. Herein, and in no other, doo we affirme our selues to be like vnto our head Christ, and al his Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs, & saintes: and herein ought al Christen menne to be like them, and herein are al true Christen men and women like them euery one, accordinge to the measure of the faith that God hathe dealt vnto them, and to the diuersitie of the

gifts of the spirite geuen vnto them. But let vs now consider, that if it be Gods good wil and pleasure, to geue his own beloued hart, that is, his beloued churche and the members thereof, into the handes of their enemies, to chasten, trie, and proue them, and to bring them to the true vnfained acknowleging of their owne naturall stubburnes, disobedience towardes God, & his commaundemēts, as touching the loue of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their natural inclination, redines, and desire, to loue creatures, to seke their own lustes, pleasures & thinges forbidden of God, to obtein a true and earnest repentance, and sorowfulnes therfore, and to make them to sighe and crie for the forgeuenes of the same, and for the aide of the spirite, dayly to mortifie and kill the sayd euil desires and lustes: yea & often falling into grosse outward sinnes, as did Dauid, Peter, Magdalene, and other, to arise againe also thereout with a mighty crying for mercy, with many other causes: let us also consider what he hereafter doth with the sayd enemies, into whose handes he hath geuen his tenderly beloued dearlinges to be chastened and tried. Forsothe, whereas he but chasteneth his dearlinges and crosseth them for a small whyle, accordinge to his good pleasure, as all fathers doe with their children. Heb. xii. Prouerb. iii. He vtterly destroyeth, yea and euerlastingly dāneth the vnrepentant enemies. Let Herode tell me what he wanne by killing James, & persecuting Peter, and Christes tender dearlinges, and beloued spouse and wyfe, his churche. Verely God thought him not worthy to haue deathe ministred vnto him by men or Angels, or any worthy creatures, but those small, and yet moost vile beastes lice, and smale wormes, must consume and kill his beastly, vile, and tyrannouse body. Pharao, & Nabuchodonosor, for all their pryde & most mightie power, must at the length let Gods dearlings go frely away out of their lande, yea out of their bandes and tyrannye. For when it coulde not bee obteyned at their handes, that Gods congregation might haue true mercy ministred vnto them, but the counterfait mercie of these our dayes, that is to say, extreme crueltie, and euen the very and that most horrible

and cruell death, God arose and awoke out of his sleepe, and destroyed those enemies of his flocke, with a mighty hand, and a stretched out arme. Pharao did with moost great and intollerable labours and burdens, expresse and bring vnder the poore Israelites, and yet did the courtiers vndoubtedly noyse abroad, that the king was mercifull vnto them, to suffer them to liue in his land, and to set thē aworke, that they might get thē their liuings. If he should thrust them out of his lande, whether should they go, lyke a sort of vagabundes and runneagates?

This title and name of mercy, would that Tyraunt haue, and so did his flattering false courtiers spread his vaine praise abroad. Haue not we the like examples now a dayes? O that I had now time to wryte certain thinges pertaining to our Winchesters mercy. How mercifull he hath bene to me & to my good brethrē I will not speake of, nether yet vnto the Duke of Suffolkes moste innocent doughter, and to her as innocent husbād. For although their fathers were faultie, yet had their yougth & lacke of experience deserued a pardon by all true mercifull mens iudgementes. O that I hadde time to paint out this matter a right: but there be many aliue that can do it much better whē I am dead. Pharao had his plages: & his moste florishing lande was by his counterfaite mercy, which was in dede right crueltie and abhominable tyrāny vtterly destroyed. And thinke ye that this bloudy bucherly byshop of Wynchester & his most bloudy brethren shal escape? or that England shall for their offences, & specially for the maintenaunce of their idolatrie, & wilfull following of them not abyde a great brunt? yes vndoubtedly. If God loke not mercifully vpon Englande, the seedes of vtter destruction are sowen in it already, by these hypocriticall tyrauntes, and Antichristian prelates Popish Papists, and double traytours to their naturall countrey. And yet they speake of mercy, of blessing of the catholike church, of vnitie of power and strengthening of y^e^ Realm. This double dissimulation wil shewe it self one day when the plage cometh, which wil vndoubtedly light vpon these crowneshorne capteines, & that shortly, whatsoeuer the godly & the poore realme

suffer in y^e^ meane while by gods good sufferaunce and will.

Spite of Nabucodonosors beard, and maugre his hart, the captiue, thrall and miserable Jewes must come home again, and haue their citie and temple builded vp again by Zorobabell, Esdras, & Nehemias &c. And the whole kyngdom of Babilon must go to ruine and be taken in of straungers, the Persians and the Medes. So shall the disperpled Englishe flock of Christe be brought againe into their former estate, or to a better I trust in the Lord God, thā it was in innocent king Edwardes dayes, and our bloudy Babylonical bishops, & the whole crownshoren cōpany brought to vtter shame, rebuke, ruine decaye, and destruction: for God can not, and vndoubtedly wil not suffer for euer their abhominable lying false doctrine, their hypocrisie, bloudthriste, whordome, idlenes, their pestilent life pampored in all kynde of pleasure, their thrasonicall boasting, pryde, their maliciouse, enuiouse, and poysoned stomakes, whch they beare towardes his poore and myserable Christiās. Peter truly warneth that if iudgement beginneth at the house of God, what shalbe the end of them that beleue not the Gospell? If the righteous shal scant be saued, where shall the vngodly and sinfull appeare? Some shall haue their punishment here in this world and in the world to come, & they that do escape in this world, shall not escape euerlasting damnatiō. This shalbe your sauce, O ye wicked Papistes, make ye mery here as long as ye may.*

* This abrupt termination of Rogers' address, which always appears in Foxe's versions, has often excited curiosity and wonder. There seemed to be something wanting — some reference to his own approaching fate, or some last message to his friends. This deficiency is supplied by the MS.; and, although the omission of Rogers' concluding paragraph might seem of little importance, it is interesting to possess it, and it does also furnish one item of information that enables us to settle a disputed point.

PRELIMINARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE

MATTHEW BIBLE,

By John Rogers.

FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF 1537.

¶ An exhortacyon to the studye of the holy Scripture gathered out of the Byble.

Christ unto the people, John, v.

Search the Scriptures: For they are they that testyfie of me.

Paul to Tymothy, ij. Tymo. iij.

All Scripture geuen by inspiracyō of God, is profitable to teache, to improue, to amēde & to instruct in rightwesnes, y^{t} the mā of God maye be perfect & prepared to al good workes.

The same to the Rom. xv.

What thynges so euer are wrytten, are wrytten for our lernyng: that we thorou pacyēce and comforth of the Scripture, myght haue hope.

Salomon Prouerb, xxx.

All the worde of God is pure & cleane, it is a shylde vnto thē that put their trust in it. Put nothynge vnto hys wordes, lest he reproue the and thou be founde a lyar.

Moses to the people, Deu. xij.

Ye shall not do euery man what seameth hym good in hys awne eyes: But whatsoeuer I commaunde you, that take hede ye do: and put nought therto, ner toke ought therfrom.

The Lorde vnto Josua, Josue, j.

Let not the boke of this lawe departe oute of thy mouth: But recoarde therin daye and nyght, that thou mayest be circumspect to do accordyng to all that is wrytten therin. For

then shalt thou make thy waye prosperous, and then shalt thou haue vnderstandynge. Turne therfrom nether to the ryght hande, ner to the lefte: that thou mayest haue vnderstandynge in all that thou takest in hande.

The same to the people, Exodi. xiij.

And thou shalt shew thy sonne at that tyme, sayinge: This is done because of that whych the Lorde dyd unto me when I came out of Egypte. Therfore it shall be a sygne vnto the vpon thyne hande, and a remẽbraunce betwene thyne eyes, that the Lordes lawe maye be in thy mouth. For wyth a stronge hande the Lorde brought the oute of Egypte.

Moses, Deutero. xxxj.

Se that thou reade this lawe before all Israell in their eares. Gather the people together, both men, wemen, and chyldren and the straungers that are in thy cytyes: that they maye heare, lerne, and feare the Lorde your God, to kepe all the wordes of thys lawe.

I. R.*

¶ THE SUMME & CONTENT OF ALL THE HOLY SCRIPTURE, BOTH OF THE OLDE AND NEWE TESTAMENT.

Fyrst the holy wrytynges of the Byble teache vs, that ther is one God, almyghtye, that hathe nether begynnynge ner endyng: which of his awne goodnes dyd create all thynges: of whom all thynges proceade, and w'out whom ther is nothynge: which is ryghtwes & mercyful: and which worketh all thinges in all after his will: of whom it maye not be demaunded wherfore he doth this or that.

Deutero. vi.
1 Timo. ij.
Genes. xvij.
Exod. xv.
Genesis, i.
Psal. x.
Exodi, iij.
Jeremy, ix.
Roma. ix.
Esay. liiij.
Jeremy, x.

Then that this verye God dyd create Adam the fyrst man after his awne Image and simylitude, and did ordeyne and appoynte hym Lorde of all the creatures in the earth.

Genesis, i.
Sapien. ij.
Roma. v.

* I. e., John Rogers.

Which Adam by the enuy of the deuell, dysobeying the commaundement of his maker, dyd fyrst synne, and brought synne into this worlde, soch and so greate, that we whych
Ephe. ij. be sprong of hym after the fleshe, are subdued vnto synne, deeth, and damnacyon, brought vnder the youck & tyrannye of the deuell.

Genesis, iij. xij. xxvj. xxviij. Ebre. ij. And further that Christ Jesus his sonne was promesed of God the father, to be a sauour to this Adam, Abrahā, Isaac, Jacob, Dauid & the other fathers: whych shulde delyuer them from their synnes and tyrannye of the deuell, that with a quyck & lyuyng faith wolde beleu his promes, and trust to this Jesus Christ, hopyng to haue his delyueraunce of and by hym. And truly thys promes, is verye oft rehearced in the bokes of the olde testament, yee & the olde testament is thys promes: as it is called the newe, which teacheth that this promes is fulfylled.

And that in the meane ceason whyle the fathers loked for saluacyon and delyueraunce promesed, because mannes nature is soche that he not only cannot, but also will not confesse hym self to be a synner, and specially soche a synner that hath neade of the sauyng health promesed, the lawe was geuen wher througe men myght know synne, and that they are synners: when they see y^{t} they do none of the thynges that the lawe commaundeth, with so gladde and wyllyng a mynde as God requyreth: but rather agaynst their wylles, with oute affeccyon, & as thoughe they were constrayned with the feare of that hell which the lawe threatneth, sayenge: Curssed be he that mayntencth not all the wordes of this lawe to kepe them. And y^{t} this lawe was geuen, to thyntent that synne & the malyce of mēnes hert being therby the better knowē, men shulde the moare feruently thryst the commynge of Chryst, whyche shulde redeame them from their synnes: As it was fygured unto the Jewes by many ceremonyes, hostes, and sacrifices: which were ordeyned of God, not to thyntent to take awaye synnes, but to shew & declare y^{t} they shulde be put awaye by fayth in y^{t} saluaciō promesed thorou Chryst: and which now are put awaye by the commynge of that Christ, which is the verye hoste of the father that taketh awaye all synne.

Last of all by the bokes of the newe Testamēt, we are taught, that y^t Christ whych was promesed & shadowed in the olde Testament, is sent of y^e father, at soch tyme as he had determyned wyth hymselfe, at soche tyme (I saye) as all wyckednes floryshed. And that he was sent not for any mans good workes (for they all were synners) but to thyntent that he wolde truly shewe the aboundant ryches of his grace, which he had promesed.

¶ In the newe testament therfore it is most euydently declared, that Jesus Christ the true lambe & hoste, is come to thyntent to reconcyle vs to the father, paying on the crosse the punyshment due vnto our synnes: and to delyuer vs from the bondage of the deuel (vnto whom we serued throughe synne) and to make vs the sonnes of God, syth he hath geuē vs the true peace and tranquyllytie of conscience, that we no longer do feare the paynes of hell: which feare is put awaye by y^e fayth, confydence & assuraunce, that the father geueth vs drawyng vs vnto his sonne. For that fayth is the gyft of God, wherby we beleue that Christ is come in to this worlde to saue synners: which is of so great pyth that they which haue it, desyre to performe all y^e duties of loue to all men, after the example of Christ. For fayth ones receaued God geueth hys holy ghost, wherwith he tokeneth and marcketh all that beleue: which is the pledge and earnest that we shal suerly possesse euerlastynge lyfe, and that geueth wytnesse unto our sprete, and grafteth this fayth in vs, that we be the sonnes of God: powryng therwyth y^t loue into our hertes which Paul descrybeth and sette[t]h oute to* the corynthians. By that faith and confydence in Christ which by loue is myghtye in operacyon, and that sheweth it selfe thorow the workes of loue, sterryng men therto, by that (I saye) we are Justyfied: that is, by that fayth, Christes father (which is become oures also thorou that Chryst our brother) counteth vs for ryghtwes & for his sonnes: imputynge not oure synnes vnto vs, thorou his grace. 1 Cor. xiij.

To conclude, he came to thyntent that we beyng cleansed from our synnes, and sanctyfied vnto God the father: y^t is, halowed vnto the vse of the father to exercyse good worckes, renyinge & forsaking the workes of the flesh, shulde frely

serue him in rightwesnes & holynes all oure lyfe longe: thorou good worckes which God hath ordeyned to thyntent that we shulde walcke in them, declaryng our selues therby to be suerly called vnto thys grace: which worckes who soeuer hath not, declareth that he hath not fayth in Christ.

Unto whom we must come, & folow hym with a chearfull hert, that he maye instruct & teache us: for he is our master, meake & humble of hert: he is oure example of whom we must learne the rule of good lyuyng: further, he is our prest, hye bishop, and onely mediator: which now sytteth on the ryght hande of God the father, is our aduocate, & prayeth euer for vs: which wyll vndouted obtayne what soeuer we desyre, ether of hym, or of hys father in his name: yf we beleue that he wyl do it when we requere it: For so hath he promesed. Let vs therfore not doute, although we some tyme synne, w^t^ a confydẽce to come vnto hym, and with a lyuyng & undoutyng fayth, that we shal obtayne mercye. For therfore came he to thyntent to saue synners: nether requereth he anything moare of vs, then to come vnto him wyth oute feare.

This is that Christ Jesus, which after he hath kylled the man of synne with the breath of his mouth, shall syt in hys mayestye and Judge all men, geuyng vnto euery one the worckes of hys bodye, accordynge to that he hath done, whether it be good or badde: And that shall saye vnto them that shalbe on his ryghte hande, Come ye blessed chyldren of my father, inheret ye the kyngdome prepared for you from the begynnynge of the worlde: And vnto them that shalbe on hys left hand, Departe from me ye cursed, in to euerlastinge fyre: which is prepared for the deuell and his aungels. Then shal the ende come & he shal delyuer vp y^e^ kingdome to God the father.

To thyntent that we shulde knowe thys (by the goodnes of God worckynge by his holy sprete) are the holy wrytynges of the Byble geuen vs: That we shulde knowe (I saye) and beleue that there is one God, and Jesus Chryst whom he hath sent: and that in beleuyng we shulde haue euerlastynge lyfe thorow hys name.

Another foundacyon then this can no man laye. And

saynt Paul desyreth that he be holden a curssed which preacheth any other fayth & saluacyon, then onely by Jesus Christ: yee althoughe it were an angel of heauē.

For of hym, and thorou hym, and for hym, are all thynges: to whom, wyth the father and the holy ghost, be honour and glorye for euer moare. Amen.

[DEDICATION.]

¶ To the moost noble and gracyous Prynce Kyng Henry the eyght, kyng of England and of Fraunce, Lorde of Ireland &c. Defender of the faythe: and vnder God the chefe and supreme head of the church of Engeland.

It hath been vsed of olde auncyent custome (most redoubted and prudent Prynce) to dedycate soche bokes as men put forth in to lyght (whether they be made of their awne industrye and proper wyttes, or translated forthe of one language in to another) to some noble Prynce, Kynge or Emperour, or otherwyse excellent in byrth or renowne: to thyntēt that the worck myght frelyer and boldelyer be occupyed in the hādes of men, as a thynge hauyng sauecondet & beyng put in to the tuicyon of the Prynce, vnto whom it is offred & dedycate. This custome not onely aunciēt but also laudable, haue youre syngular and rare gyftes in worldy regyment, and the vertuous and Godly moderacion of mayntenynge true preachers for the inducynge of your symple subiectes to the syncerytie and purenes of Christes Gospell: with the other many folde and syngular vertues, wherwyth the Prynce of Prynces hath indued your hyghnes, encoraged me to embrace. For vnto whom or in to whose proteccyon shulde the defence of soche a worck be soner cōmytted (wherin are contayned the infallyble promeses of mercy in the olde testament prefygured & in the newe fulfylled, wyth the whole summe of Christyanitye) then vnto his maiestye, which not onely by name and tytle, but most euydently & openly, most Christenly & wyth most Godly pollicye dothe profesſe the defence therof?

The want of lernynge, The obscurenes & lownes of byrth, The lack of youre graces knowledge* &c. shuld haply haue vtterly forbydden me, to haue interprysed the dedycacion herof to so puyssaunt a Prynce: But the experience of youre graces benygnytye, wherthroughe youre prayse is renoumed and hyghly magnifyed, euen amōge straungers and alyentes, not alone amōge your awne subiectes, The Godly moderacion of youre heuenly polycye, wherwith ye suppresse supersticyon and mayntene true holynes, inflameth me to some part of boldenes: Specyally syth the thyng which I dedycate is soch as your grace studyeth dayly to forther. In which studye & endeuoure he cōtynewe you, whych hath moued you to so holesome a purpose: and geue the same dylygence vnto other Christen Prynces and forren potentates, that he hath breathed & instyled in to your breaste.

For the cheafe & pryncypall thyng appartaynynge to Prynces & nobles (which thyng it is good to se that youre grace doth well consyder) is: to defende, forther, set oute & augment the knowledge of God. Moses y^{t} faythfull
Deut. xvii. seruaunt of the Lorde, prophecying by y^{e} sprete y^{t} Israel shulde haue a Kynge, cōmaunded: that he ones set on y^{e} seat of his kyngdome, shulde reade the seconde lawe (meanynge the boke of Deuteronomye) all the dayes of his lyfe: to thyntent that he myght learne to feare the Lorde his God, for to kepe all the wordes of his lawe & ordynances, and that he shulde not returne from the commaundement ether to the right hand or to the left. He perceaued, vndouted that yf the Prynce him selfe were so affectuously anymated vnto the kepynge of the lawe, as he is there expresly cōmaunded: it shulde not a lytell inflame hym to an ardent and burnyng zeale of settyng out Goddes glorye, in fortherynge the thynges in that lawe expressed: And knewe what wholsome and Godly lawes soche a kynge wolde indeuoure hym selfe to enstablyshe, by which the lawe of God myght the better be obserued, & the largelyer and

* Such expressions as these, under such circumstances, are very common in the Dedications of those days, and must be considered to indicate rather an affectation of humility, for the sake of the compliment implied, than an admission of the facts which the words themselves literally assert.

forther sprynge abroade: And saw right well that soch a Prynce coulde not but will his subiectes to reade & folowe all the poyntes of that lawe, which he him selfe was so strayghtly bounde both to kepe & reade. Further in that he willeth the Kynges of Israel, not ones to swarue from the lawe of the Lorde ether to the ryght hande or to the left, he instructeth them, to fulfyll the worde of God playnly, purely, without puttyng to or takynge therfrom, without superstycion: not to be exalted thorou prosperytye, ner deiecte in aduersytye: to cleaue and leane vnto the worde of God in tyme of glorye & renowne, and in tyme of dishonoure and ignomynie: to amplyfye ryghtwesnes & to loue veritye: Which thinges sene in y^e^ nobylytie, adde no smal sporre vnto the cōmens to imitate & folow the same. Yee they so worck in y^e^ hertes of the noble, that they be enforced what by ensample of lyfe, & by pollytyke ordynaunces to y^t^ vse inuented, to allure soche as be vnder their subieccyō to y^e^ performaunce therof. That Moses there cōmaundeth vnto the kynges of Israel, partayneth vnto all y^e^ Prynces of the Christen name. That he there calleth the lawe is to vs the holy scripture & worde of y^e^ most holy & myghtie God. Unto prynces (euery one in his dominion) belongeth the amplyfiynge therof, as of the rote of all Godlynes. Now in as moche as the Lord hath raysed you vp before other princes of oure tyme, most earnestly to hearcken vnto this cōmaundement of his seruaunt Moses, & to attempt the thynges that do not a lytle auaūce Goddes glorye: & hath also opened your eyes to se the falsheed of the subtell and the innocency of the Godly: to note the wylynes of the chyldren of this worlde, and the symplycitye of the holy: to extyrp & abolyshe enorme & fylthy abuses, and in their steades to rote & fyxe the ryght, true, and parfect doctryne of Christianytie: ther is founde no man, vnto whom y^e^ translacyon of the Lordes lawe can so worthely be offred and dedycate as vnto your most gracyous highnesse. For I nothing mystrust but that it shal most acceptably come in to your most fauourable & sure proteccyon. Therof doth your peculyar desyre of fortheryng soche lyke laboures suffyciently assure me. It is no vulgare or cōmen thynge whych

is offred in to your graces protecciō, but the blessed worde of God: which is euerlastyng & cā not fayle, though heauē & earth shuld perish. So precious a thynge requyreth a singular good patrone & defendar, & findeth no nother vnto whō the defence therof may so iustly be cōmitted as vnto your graces maiestye. It is y^e^ lawe of the celestiall King which ruleth all thynges with a beck, & yet is it some tyme greatly forthered or hyndered by the ayde & hyndraūce of earthly & worldly prynces. Longe & oft was it obscured & darckened, yee & in maner cleane abolished in y^e^ tyme of the cōmen wealth of Israel. The wylye iuggeling of y^e^ preastes in persuadyng y^e^ prynces & rulars to be conformable to their inuencyons, & the rashe beleuynge people, which thought euery thyng an oracle that the prestes breathed in to their breastes, dyd oft & many tymes fyll all full of supersticyon and Idolatrye. From the tyme of Ahab vnto y^e^ raygne of kyng Hezekiah, laye true holynes and the perfect sekynge of God vtterly oppressed: And Hezekiah in his tyme renued the lawe to hys perfeccyon, and hath therfore his worthy prayse in the scripture: But hys sonne Manasseh set vp agayne all the wyckednes that his father had suppressed. Josiah after he had ones readde the boke of the lawe founde in y^e^ tēple, let no tyme slyp tyll he had called all Israel together, put downe all kyndes of Idolatrie, & holden the feast of passouer accordynge to the lawe. His sonne Jehoahaz, with the reast of the kynges folowing dyd discontent and displease the Lorde, maynteynyng supersticyō & Idolatrye in steade of godlynes, & causyng the people to applye thē selues therto. The nomber of the euell kinges was vsually greater than the nombre of the good, as the bokes of y^e^ kynges & Parali.* do clearly testifye. Soch was y^e^ sutteltie of y^e^ false prophetes y^t^ they fyrst & principally bewitched y^e^ prynces to y^e^ defence of their Imaginaciōs: whō, as their heades, y^e^ people were cōstrayned to folow.

iij. Regum, xvij.

iiij. Reg. xviij.

iiij. Regū. xxi.

iiij. Regū. xxij.

iiij. Reg. xxiij. ij. Par. xxxvi.

The youth of Manasseh was a mete praye for the false prophetes and prestes of Baal, which dyd instant hym, compasse hym, and leadde hym as it hath bene with a lyne to

* Paralippomenon, i. e. Chronicles.

their trade of Idolatrye. They had learned in the tyme of Ahab to do sacryfyce vnto Idoles, wherby their lucre & aduauntage was not a lytell increased: which thinge (for feare of punyshment be ye sure) they had intermytted and left of all the Raygne of that good Kynge Hezekiah. In his dayes they were cōpelled to haue the lawe of God in honoure. They in deade abhorred the true worshyppynge of God, but dyd obey the Kynges cōmaundementes faynedly thorow Ipocrysye, and were in hert most wycked and wretched. But they so subtely depraued the tyme of the domynyon of young Manasseh that they persuaded hym by their craft to reiect and set asyde the lawe of the Lorde, as the new founde relygyō of hys father Hezekiah: & to receaue the superstycyōs which hys fore father Ahab, as moare aged & wyser had instytute: yee and those agreable to the lawes of other nacyons. His applyable and conformable wyttes dyd they so bewitch, that he thought it greate holynes to dysanull all that his father had most godly redressed: & to retayne all the olde superstycyons, rytes and customes of Idolatrers: to kyll & slaye all that by any meanes shewed loue or zeale to true religiō & godlynes: so that he cruelly filled the cytie of Jerusalē with the bloude of the Prophetes, & of soch as warred & fought agaynst Idolatrye. In lyke maner dyd they with Jehoahaz, which shortly had put downe his fathers decrees: settyng moare by y^e^ supersticiōs of his forefather Ahab, than by the godlynes of his good father Josiah. False prophetes, Ipocrytish preastes, & the mutable & vnconstant comenaltye, haue euer bene readye to receaue their olde phantastycall dreames, & haue for the moast parte contynually preuayled agaynst the true Prophetes & preachers of the Lorde. The exāples herof (yf there shulde so many be rehearced as y^e^ Chronycles of all tymes do mencyō) wolde make a great & an huge volume. Nether thincke I it best to trouble youre grace w^t^ a so longe a processe as to recite thē. And the experiēces of soch as shall herafter come, are only knowē vnto y^e^ Lorde: nether knoweth any man what chaūge may fall. But for y^e^ fortunate & prosperous estate of this oure tyme (so farre as concerneth thys youre graces Reaulme) are hyghe and vnceassable

iij. Regū. xvij.

iiij. Reg. xviij.

thanckes to be geuen vnto the Lorde of Lordes: which hath dealt so mercyfully wyth the inhabytauntes therof, as to sende them a Prynce that contynually studyeth to se thē enryched in all poyntes of true godlynes. Who so remayneth vnthanckfull herein, is not alone vngodly but also wretched. For soche a Prince as geueth no eare vnto y^e^ inchauntementes of false preachers is one of the greatest gyftes of God, & soch a worldly blessyng to a comen wealth as requyreth an earnest thanckesgeuynge therfore.

That Hezekiah and Josiah were vnto Israel, the same is youre grace vnto y^e^ Reaulme of England: yee the godly haue greate hope that youre prayse shalbe farre aboue theirs. They vphelde the verytye & true worshyppynge of God, but onely for their awne tymes. Your graces wysdome, illumyned of God, shall (we trust) so fyrmely stablyshe the trade of Godlynes in your lyfe tyme, that it shall neuerthelesse florysh after your deceasse. Your deuyne gouernaunce, no lesse fortunate than polytyque, putteth vs in hope of soch a redresse as shalbe permanent and durable, and so suerly grounded, that the wont iuggelyng & venemous persuasions of false preachers shall not be so noysome vnto youre posteryte, as they haue bene vnto the former age. This hope haue the godly euē of forren & straunge nacyons in your graces goodnes, moch moare they of your awne reaulme. Soche confidence haue they conceaued by your former actes, wherthrough youre grace hath so exceadyngly profyted this affayre. The euerliuynge Lord so prospere youre begonne purpose vnto soch effect, that the thinge may be cōtynually which ye haue begōne: And so streacth oute his myghty hande and worcke so strōgely in you, that no stoarme of false Prophetes (the very destroyers of Princes and Realmes) maye hereafter be able to extynct the lyght, whych now in your graces dayes hath begonne to shyne: And double vnto you the addycyō of yeares that was geuen vnto Hezekiah, ouer and aboue those that ye shulde naturally lyue, that ye maye the better accomplysh your moast godly intent: And enspyre soch streames of grace in to youre breast, that you perseuerynge vnto the ende, maye leaue behynde you this testymonye of glorye: that ye haue truly

defended the pure fayth of Christ, maynteyned his holy worde, suppressed superstycyon, deleate & put awaye Idolatrye, ended the blasphemy of false Prophetes, & brought youre reaulme vnto the true trade of godlynes: And blesse you at thys present wyth a sonne, by youre most gracyous wyfe Quene Jane, which may prosperously & fortunately raygne, & folowe the godly steppes of his father: And after your grace shall geue place to nature, and forsake thys mortall lyfe, graunte you the rewarde of that vnspeakable and celestyall ioye, whych no eye hath sene, no eare hearde, nor can ascende into the herte of man. So be it.

Youre graces faythfull & true subiect

THOMAS MATTHEW.

H. R.

[TABLE OF COMMON PLACES.]

¶ To the Chrysten Readers.

The grace and peace of God be geuen vnto you by Jesus Christe.

¶ As the bees dylygently do gather together swete flowers, to make by naturall craft the swete honny: so haue I done the pryncypall sentences conteyned in the Byble. The whych are ordened after the maner of a table, for the consolacyon of those whych are not yet exercysed & instructed in the holy Scripture. In the which are many harde places, as well of the olde as of the newe Testament expounded, gathered together, concorded, and compared one wyth another: to thintent that the prudent Reader (by the sprete of God) maye beare awaye pure and cleare vnderstandynge. Wherby euery man (as he is bounde) maye be made ready, stronge and garnyshed to answere to all them that aske hym a reason of hys fayth. Thys is also profytable for the partycular and generall exhortacyons whych we make to certayne personages, or cōmune people: & for to answere truly to Heretykes, & to confounde the aduersaries of the worde of God. In the which also we may fynde (y^{t}

which helpeth greatly the studye of the readers) the openynge of certayne Hebrewe tropes, translacyons, symylytudes, and maners of speakynges (whych we call Phrases) cōteyned in the Byble. And for the more easely to fynde the matters desyred (because that dysorder engendreth confusyon) I haue proceded after the order of an Alphabete: to thyntente that none be depryued of so precyous a treasure: the whych ye shall vse to the honoure and glorye of God, and to the edyfyinge of hys Churche. How be it (good Reader) yf thou fynde not the thynges in thys table expressed, in the same letters of the Chapters wherin they are assygned: vouchsaue to loke in y^e^ letter goinge next before or in the letter next folowynge.

A table of the pryncypall matters conteyned in the Byble, in whych the readers may fynde and practyse many commune places.

[The words embraced in this table are numerous, to each of which are attached brief suggestions and scriptural references. Their general character may be gathered from the following:—]

Abhomynacyon, Abrogacyon, Abstynence, Abuses, Accepcyon, Accusacyon, Adam, Adultery, Aduocate, Afflyccyon, Angels, Antychryst, Apostell, Armours of christen men, Ascensyon of Christ, Aulmes, Aulter, Annoyntynge, Baptyme, Beatytude, or blessednes, To blesse, Blasphemye, A bodye, To beleue, A byshoppe, Brethren, Beggers, Borne agayne, Bread, Bloude, Bondage, The commynge of Christ in the flesh, &c. &c. &c.

[A single specimen will suffice to indicate the system and nature of the illustrations.]

¶ *Abstynence.*

The abstynence of a Christen man is to wythdrawe hym selfe from synne. Tobi, i. b., Tessa iiij. a, i. Pet. ij. a.

To them that kepe abstynēce wisdome is geuen, Dani. i. d., and bodely health, Eccli. xxxvij. d.

An example of abstynence in John Baptyst. Mat. iij. b., Luk. i. b.

[PREFACE TO THE APOCRYPHA.]

¶ To the Reader.

In consyderacyon that the bokes before are founde in the Hebrue tonge, receaued of all men: & that the other folowyng, which are called Apocripha (because they were wont to be reade, not openly & in comen, but as it were in secret and aparte) are nether founde in the Hebrue nor in the Chalde: in which tonges they haue not of longe bene written (in lesse then it were happly the boke of Sapience) wher vpon it were now very harde to repayre & amende them: And that also they are not receaued nor taken as legyttymate and leafull, as well of the Hebrues as of the whole Churche, as S. Hierome sheweth: we haue separat them, & sett them asyde, that they may the better be knowen: to thintent that men maye knowe of which bokes witnes ought to be receaued, and of which not. For the sayde S. Hierome speakinge of the boke of Judith (which is Apocriphe) sayth, that the autorytye therof is not esteamed worthy & suffycyent to confyrme and stablysh the thynges that lyght in dysputacyon. And generally of all the bokes called Apocripha, he sayth, that men maye reade them to the edyfyinge of the people: but not to confyrme & strengthen the doctryne of the Churche. I leaue oute here the lawe (as they call it) of Canon. c. Sancta Romana. xv. distinct. where he sheweth his iudgemēt. Lykewyse the Glose of .c. Canones. xvj. distinc. which sayth, that men reade thē, but not in generall: as though he shulde saye, that generally and thorouly they are not alowed. And not wythout a cause: For that they haue bene corrupted and falsyfyed in many places, it appeareth sufficiently by Eusebius in his boke called Historia Ecclesiastica: Which thinge is easye to be knowē euē now a dayes in certē poyntes, namely in the bokes of the Machabees: whose second boke S. Hiero. cōfesseth that he founde not in the Hebrue, by the meanes wherof it is become vnto vs the more suspect and the lesse receaued. In lyke maner is it of the thyrde and fourthe boke of Esdras, which S. Hierome protesteth that

In the Prologe to the Prouer.

In the Prologe before Judith.

In the Prologe to the Prouerb.

In the iiij. boke the xxij. chap.

In the Prologe vpon the bokes of theKynges.

In the Pro-

loge of Esdras. In the xi. xij. and xiij. of the Antiquyties. In the iiij. boke agaynst Appiō.

he wolde not haue translated, esteamyng them for dreames: where as Josephus yet in his boke of his Antiquities declareth y^e^ summe of the matter after the maner of a storye, as well of the boke of Machabees as of the .iij. of Esdras: although he esteame the bokes compyled from the raygne of Kynge Artaxerses vnto hys tyme, to be Apocripha.

Wherfore then, when thou wylt manteyne any thynge for certen, rendryng a reason of thy fayth, take heade to proceade therin by the lyuynge & pyththye Scriptures, folowinge S. Peter, which sayth: He that speaketh, let hym speake as thoughe he spake the worde of God. He sayth the worde of God, as a thyng most true & certen, opened by the Prophetes & Apostles, inspyred with the holy goost: of whom we haue wytnesse moare cleare then the daye. Lawers hauynge greate desyre to confyrme and stablysh their opynyons by the lawe of man, saye, that they shame to speake wythout lawe: How moch more feare and dreade then ought he to haue, that sayth he is a Chrystyan, the whych holdeth not hym selfe, or reasteth not in the lawes of the lyuynge God: but in mennes inuencyons, iudgynge of all thynges accordynge to them, and leanyng to an vncerten ymagynacyon & phantasye: Let vs therfore that are buylded on the foundacyon of the holy Prophetes & Apostles, and on the head corner stone (on which they them selues were foūded, and which they preached, that is Jesus Christ, the suer stone) leaue the thinges that are vncerten to folowe the certē: holdinge vs and reastynge vs in them, and fasteninge oure ancre there, as in a sure place. For oure Christen fayth consysteth not in doutefull thinges, but in playne & moost certen assuraunce, & in moost true persuasyon, taken and confyrmed by infallible verite. In which God graunte vs to walcke perpetuallye, to thintent that accordynge to it (fulfyllynge his holy wyll in vs, and settynge asyde all inuencyons contrary vnto hym) we maye lyue to hys honour, and to the edyfyinge of hys Churche. So be it.

i. Petr. iiij. c. i. Petr. i. b. ij. Petr. i. d.

Erubescimus sine lege loqui.

i. Corint. iij. c. Ephes. ij. d.

[SPECIMENS OF THE TRANSLATION.]

[Two short examples, embracing familiar passages, will show, as well as whole pages, the variations from the present version, the peculiar orthography of this Translation, and the arrangement of the Marginal Notes.]

Genesis. ¶ *The fyrst Chapter.*

In the beginnyng* God created heauen and erth. The erth was voyde and emptye, and darcknesse was vpon the depe, & the spirite of God† moued vpon the water.

Than God sayde: let there be lyght: & there was lyght. And God sawe the lyght that it was good: & deuyded y^e^ lyght from the darcknesse, & called the lyght the daye, & the darcknesse the nyght: and so of the euenyng & mornyng was made the fyrst daye.

*iiij.Esd. vi. d. Eccli. xviij. a. Jeremye. x. b. Hebr. i. c. xi. a. Psal. ci. d. & cxxxv. a. Esaye. xliiij. d.

† brethed or styred.

John. ¶ *The fyrst Chapter.*

In the beginnynge was the worde, & the worde was with God: and the worde was God. The same was in the beginnynge wyth God. All thinges were made by it, and wythout it, was made nothynge that was made. In it was lyfe, & the lyfe was the lyght of men, &** the lyght shyneth in y^e^ darcknes, but the darcknes comprehended it not.

** By the light is vnderstande Christ & by the darcknes vngodly & vnbeleuinge mē amōg whome Chryst came & they receaued him not as Ephe. iiij. d.

A WAYING AND CONSIDERING OF

THE INTERIM

BY THE HONOURWORTHY AND HIGHLY LEARNED

PHILLIP MELANCTHON.

TRĀSLATED INTO ENGLYSHE BY JOHN ROGERS.

1548.

TO THE READER.

Because I with great griefe haue nowe often heard, (most dere Reader) that y^e^ highly learned and no lesse godly, ientle and louing man Phillip Melancthon is highlye belyed, in that a great sorte openlye saye that he hath denyed the trueth, or (that I maye vse their owne wordes) recanted (whiche thyng they saye onelye to hyndre the furtheraunce of Gods trueth) I coulde do no lesse, but turne into our Englyshe speache, and also put out, this little treatise of his: not so muche for the defence of his moste named and knowen fames sake (which he hath yet hitherto kepte vndefiled, so that euen the greatest enemyes of the gospell neither coulde nor haue saied otherwise of hym) as for the coūfortyng of many godly and christen hertes, whiche haue bene not alytell dismayed and discouraged thorow suche lyes. And verely not without a cause, for his denying would do more harme to the trueth in these last and most perelouse tymes, than any tongue or penne can expresse. And God of his goodnesse, bountefull mercye, and great power, graunt that that neuer chaunce. At this tyme also, thākes be to God therfore, he hath not onely not denyed the trueth, but also after his olde accustomed christē manier, plainelye confessed and acknowleged it: whiche thyng this his answere to the *Interim*, ynough witnesseth.

And although this his writing be shorte, and answere not to al the poyntes of the *Interim* (for that would aske great

labour, and long tyme) yet it playnely answereth to the greatest misuses and to the very senowes of the Rome-bushops moste tyrannouse kyngdome contayned in that boke.

He also sheweth tokens ynoughe in the booke, that he will at leasure largelier write vpon manye poyntes therof. I receiued also a letter with this treatise, from a nother godly and learned man, wherin is writen, that other and diuers learned men in Dutchlande, be in hand to shewe their meaning in writing, as touchyng the same, so that we maye be of muche better comforte then our papistes would gladly se, yea then manye of the good and faithfull christen be, that that *Interim* will be wᵗstanded, & not so sone and easely receaued as yᵉ papistes hope, & many christen feare. This I saie chiefelye caused me to putte out this litle boke, at this time.

But for that there be haply many that know not what that *Interim* meaneth, for some haue not seen it, and some haue not harde of it, ye and the moste vnderstande not the worde, as they that vnderstand no Latine, or not very well, neede dryueth me to shewe bothe what it is, and also the meanyng of the worde. *Interim* is a booke whiche was at yᵉ Emperoures Maiesties commaũdemẽt, prynted and put forth about the begynnyng of June in this yere of our Sauiours birthe, 1548, wherein is commaunded that al the Cities in Dutchlande that haue receaued the worde of God and made a chaunge of Ceremonyes accordyng to the word, shal reforme their Churches agayne and turne to the olde popishe ordinaunces, as a dog dothe to that he hathe spued out, or a washen swyne to the myre.

Thus haue ye harde what it is. Now heare what the worde signifyeth or betokeneth.

Interim is as muche to saye, as in the meane season, or, in the meane while. And therfore haue they christened the childe and geuen him this name, because they wyll yᵗ we kepe all the thynges commaunded and contayned in that booke, in yᵉ meane while from this highedutche parlament holden at Auszburg till there be a generall councell holden. There they thynke, (but God sitteth aboue in heauen, and thynketh happly otherwyse) to make yᵉ matter worsse. For

because it had been an hastye worcke to haue chaunged all thynges at once, they of their great (I had almoste sayed) greuouse and mercilesse mercy haue borne with vs in two thynges, y^t^ is to saye, in y^e^ Maryage of priestes, & receiuing of the communion in both the kindes. But how lōg? Forsoth *Interim*, that is, in the meane while till the Generall Councell come. And thynke then to beare no longer with vs, no nor with Christe himselfe, for then they thynke to be so strong, that neyther Christe himselfe nor all that wyll abyde by hym, shall be able to withstande them. This is the meanyng of the worde in Englyshe.*

* As the explanation given by Rogers may not be as clear at the present day as it was at the time when he wrote, the following is subjoined :—

"*Interim.*" The name given to a Formular, or a kind of Confession of some Articles of Faith, obtruded upon the Protestants, after Luther's death, by Charles V. (of Germany), when he had defeated their forces,—so called, because it was only to take place in the *interim*, till a General Council should have decided all points in question between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics,—the occasion whereof was this:—The Council of Trent being removed from that city, by a translation to Bononia, or rather by a suspension, the Emperor undertook this famous *Interim*, that made so much noise in the world. He knew that, in several of the foregoing Diets, a General, or, at least, a National Council had been desired, to appease the troubles of Germany upon the account of religion, and, seeing there was small hope of having either of these convened suddenly, he resolved to get a Formular drawn up by some Divines, who were to be deputed by the Diet then held at Augsburg; but, those who were named being unable to come to any agreement, the matter was referred to the Emperor himself, who chose three Divines, viz. Julius Phlugius, Bishop of Naumburg; Michael Helding, Titular Bishop of Sidon, and Suffragan of Mentz; and Johannes Agricola, Court Preacher to the Elector of Brandenburg; who set down a project containing twenty-six articles concerning the points of religion in controversy between the Protestants and Roman Catholics. These Divines assured the Emperor that the project contained nothing contrary to the Romish doctrine, except two points concerning the marriage of priests and the use of the cup in the Sacrament. The Emperor sent it to the Pope for his approbation, which he refused; whereupon, Charles V., having softened some expressions, published the imperial constitution called "Interim," declaring therein his will that all his catholic dominions should, for the time to come, inviolably observe the customs, statutes, and ordinances of the universal Church, &c., and that those who were separate from it should either reunite themselves to it, or, at least, entirely conform themselves to this Constitution; and that all should quietly expect the definitions of the General Council. This "Interim" was published in the Diet at Augsburg, May 15th, 1548. But this device, after all, pleased neither the Pope or the Protestants, most of whom protested against it. The Pope designed to

Unto this *Interim* and the meaning thereof hathe thaboue named Phil. Melancthon answered, and written this present treatise, & sheweth to what thinges a christen man maye agre, & whiche thynges may be chaunged, & whiche not: in which treatise y^e^ reader shall well perceaue, that he nether hath denied the trueth that he hath thus longe taught and acknowledged, nor yet thinketh to doe: whiche vertu and high gyfte of God, the almighti father of our lord Jesus Christ increase in him and all the christen to the honour & glory of his holy name, increase of his knoweledge, and sauing of many soules Amen.

At London in Edward whitchurch house by John Rogers. 1. Augusti. 1548.*

The answere of Ph. Me. to the Interim.

The Prologe newly made to the boke *Interim*, was not brought vnto vs, & therefore can we make no mencyon thereof at this time: but we perceiue that it is a very greuous, heuy and perlouse wrytyng, yf this be the meanyng thereof, that they condempne our Churches, and that the receauing of this booke shoulde be an acknowledgyng

send some Prelates to the Emperor to correct his *Interim*, but Cardinal Morone, and some of the Bishops assembled at Bononia, advised him to the contrary, declaring that it was but a bare toleration of a small part of Lutheranism, with a great restriction against the rest. However, the Lutheran preachers protested that they would not receive it. Bucer, minister of Strasburg, though pressed by the Elector of Brandenburg, would never sign it, alleging that it re-established Popery. Other ministers of the chief Protestant cities, as Wolfgangus Musculus of Augsburg, Brentius of Halle, Osiander of Nuremberg, with some others, chose rather to quit their chairs and livings, and withdraw into Prussia and Switzerland, than subscribe the *Interim*; nor would the Duke of Saxony receive it. Calvin and several others wrote against it. Robert Cenalis Bishop of Avranches and a famous divine of the Faculty of Paris, refuted it in his book entitled "The Antidote." On the other side, Charles V. was so very severe against those that refused it as to disfranchise the cities of Magdeburg and Constance for their opposition.—*Jeremy Collier's Great Historical Dictionary*, 1701, vol. i., Art. "*Interim.*"

* Melancthon's little Tract was written, published in Germany, sent to England, translated, printed in English, and for sale in London, within two months from the time the Emperor's edict was first issued—an expedition that must have been remarkable three centuries ago.

as it were, y^t^ our churches haue hitherto taught wrongfully, and begonne a selfwilly dissencion and deuision. Therfore is it nedefull that all the men of vnderstandyng in our Churches answere therto, for if we should now oure selues denye the knowen and acknowledged trueth, & bynde our selues to the persecucion of the same trueth, that were a blaspheming of God, whiche shoulde neuer be forgeuen, from which God graciously defende vs. And althoughe warre and destruccion be thretned vs, yet must we set more by Gods worde, and not denie the knowen trueth.

Secondarely the learning of the sōne of God and of the forgeuenes of sinnes, is also the specyall Counsel of God, whiche God of his vnspeakable mercy hathe declared and opened, and wyll that all men helpe to vpholde the same learning, to thintent that they may pray vnto him aright & obtaine saluaciō.

Now hath the deuell alwayes sought many craftes and wyles frō Adams time hitherto, to quenche out this learning, or to darcken it, as thensamples fearefully declare.

Therefore ought we dylygently to take hede, that we be not drawen from true & right learning, as God often warneth and exorteth vs.

Thirdly let men also consider, if false learnyng and Idolatrye shoulde be agayne brought in and begonne in oure Churches, how greate an offence and sclaunder should be occasioned therin: for there would be many Godly men and wemen fall into great heauynes & griefe, and the true prayer and callyng vpon God should be hindred.

For these great and weightie causes, must we take good hede, what we conclude in this matter.

We striue not of our owne frowardnesse, heeddynesse or pryde, as some men laye to our charges. God whiche knoweth all mennes hertes, wotteth howe gladlye we woulde se and haue peace oure selues with all our hertes:

But this earnest and strong cōmaundement, that we shall not forsake nor persecute the knowen learning of the trueth, driueth and thrustheth vs to the defence of the true learnyng whiche is preached in our Churches: And as for the perill we will put & commit to God.

And in asmuche as we nowe se and fele by the very dede itselfe that the Bushoppes and their partakers wyll receaue no agreemēt: and that the discord of the learning and certen ceremonies will neuerthelesse abyde, and that they wyll make or ordre no priestes for vs: it were better that we in dede kepe caulmnesse, quietnesse, and peace, in oure churches, and begyn not vnquietnesse, discorde, debate and offence among our selues.

For this * booke wyll surelye not be receaued in manye Countreyes and Cyties.

* Understand, Interim.

But for as muche as the articles in the Boke be diuers, some be right and some be vnrighte, some speake of the chiefe articles of the belefe which all men muste knowe and vnderstand, and some of other matters whiche are not so nedeful to be knowen: we will orderly declare our obedient meaning, and that that is right wyll we not *calūniose* & *sophistice* † striue against, but plainely and singely acknowlege it, and agayne that that is vnright wyll we not allowe.

The begynning of the boke, as touchyng the creacion and fall of man, the originall or byrthsinne, and the redempcion or raunsoming through Christe, is righte and vnfautye. But afterwarde in the fourth leafe, in the title of Justificacion or rightwessemakyng is this faute, that the Booke plainly saith: that we be iustified or made rightwesse through loue, and the same meaning is also afterward rehersed and declared that it maye suerly be vnderstanded therby, that that booke is not agreable with the true learnīg which is through gods grace preached in our Churches, y^{t} a man is made rightwesse before God, and pleaseth him, for our lorde Christes sake through belefe.

And althoughe the boke saye in some places, that a man cometh to rightwesenes through belefe, yet is this the meaning of the boke, that the belefe is but a makyng readye before, and that afterwarde a man is made rightwesse throughe loue, as the boke also playnely sayeth, y^{t} a man is afterwarde verely made rightwesse throughe loue.

And to declare it selfe playnelyer it saithe, that there is

† I. e., literally, with calumny and sophistry.

yet a true belefe in a mā, although he liue with an euell cōscience, and haue not loue: And also that a man is an inheriter of euerlasting life, throughe loue.

So that this is in very dede the whol meaning, y^t a mā is rightwesse, that is, pleaseth God, throughe loue and worckes, as the monckes and freers taught longe a gone. And the neadfull learnyng of belefe is not spoken of, whiche is this, althoughe loue and a good conscience muste be in vs, yet are we before God rightwesse, y^t is, we please hym throughe our Sauiour christ and for his sake, through y^e trust y^t we haue in him & not because of our purenesse or cleannes. This Article is throughe Gods grace so declared expounded and set out in our churches, that we doubte not, but there are very many men whiche vnderstand it right well, and can also well iudge the boke.

We acknowledge and teache also and that diligently and truly, that repentaunce & sorowfulnes or grefe of herte, conuersion or turning again to God; loue, a good purpose to amend, and a good conscience, muste be in the hert, and that this saying muste abyde true.

Qui non diligit, manet in morte.

He that loueth not, abideth in death.

There must many neadefull vertues be together, belefe, loue, hope, a good conscience, a good purpose, &c: as thys thyng is throughe Gods grace plenteously preached in our churches.

But yet ouer & aboue these vertues must the trust in y^e sōne of God be there, as is afore saied, & it must alwaise ouershadow thother vertues for almaner of vertues be weake in vs, & there abideth yet much vncleānes in mannes herte in this lyfe.

Therefore muste we cleaue and sticke to the mediatour, and seke grace and fauour through him, for so speaketh the psalme, Before the is no man liuing rightwes. And Da. 9. saieth, heare vs not because of our rightwesnes, but because of thy mercy, for the Lordes sake.

And so shall we come before God and bryng thys truste in the sonne of God with vs, and knowe, that althoughe loue

and other vertues be, and muste be in vs: that they yet be to weake, and that the truste in, to, and vpon the sonne of God, muste stande suer, vnstirrable and vnouerthrowable, and do that that is done to our rightwesmakyng.

And if we speake of the rightwesnes poured into vs of God (as they calle it) we maye not leaue out this belefe and liuing truste, for it is one of the highe and neadfull vertues: Yee this truste wakeneth vp counforth, loue, prayer or callyng vpon God, and life in the herte, as is written, Gall. 2. That I nowe liue, I lyue throughe the belefe in the sonne of God: And loue and counforth cā not be or abyde in the hert, yf this belefe and this truste go not before.

So that this is spoken without cōsideracion in the boke, y^{t} we be first made ryghtwesse in dede throughe loue, wher as yet this rightwesnes, y^{t} God is merciful vnto vs for y^{e} mediatours sake, and that the mediatoure couereth & hideth our weaknes, ought moche more and highlyer to be loked to and esteamed, then our owne loue.

And when we be in nede, and in earnest prayer or callyng vpon God, we seke not loue and oure owne cleannes, but be muche more affearde and shrynke for our wretchednesse and synnes: and muste seke counforte at the onely peacemaker, whiche God of his greate mercy and wonderfull wisedome hath apoynted vs. Thereof speaketh Paule. *Justificati fide pacem habemus*, after we be made rightwesse throughe belefe, we haue peace or are at peace.

And that this is the vnchaungeable voyce & meanyng of the gospell in the Churche of god from Adams tyme hitherto, that is plaine in the holy Scripture, and s. Paule setteth Abrahams example before our eies, and declareth this saying: Abraham beleued God, and that was counted vnto hym for rightwesnes. That is, although Abraham had great and highe vertues yet was this his rightwesnesse before God, and he pleased him, because he beleued that God woulde be graciouse and fauourable to him according as his promes sounded.

And althoughe this vnderstanding of the promes be ofte at all ages and tymes darkened, yet hath it abyden and abydeth among the vnderstandyng and perceauyng christen

alwayes, as euery godlye christen mannes owne experience that hath vnderstanding, sheweth.

Therfore is this one fawte in the Booke, that it sayeth, loue is true rightwesnes, and fayneth y^{t} belefe is but a knoweledge, suche a one as is in the deuels.

And saith further, that a man is an inheritour of euerlastyng life, because he hath loue, and so sēdeth vs to our owne workes and speaketh nothyng of this comfort, that we shall beleue, that God suerly receaueth all those to euerlastyng lyfe that turne agayne and amend, and trust vpon the sōne of god, through suche belefe.

But that some saie, that we vnderstand not the boke, this we lette them iudge, that wyll hereafter largelier write thervpon, if it come abroade and shewe his head.

And althoughe menne woulde suttely and wylily excuse it, and gether the poyntes therin contayned here and there together, so is it yet agaynst it selfe.

For as muche then as this Article, howe a man is rightwes before god and pleaseth God, must be knowen to all men, that the righte honour maye be geuen to the sonne of God, and that men maye haue right true coumforte, must all men both the learned and the vnlearned helpe to kepe the godly learnyng of the gospell pure cleane and vndarkned. Therfore can we not councell that anye man receaue the booke in this poynte.

And in asmuche as it is playne that no creature neither in heauen or earth oughte to chaunge the vnchaungeable councell of God opened in the gospell: we will through Gods grace, also from henceforthe truly teache the learnyng of belefe and good workes, as we haue nowe many yeres preached and taught it in these churches, for it is so set out in the scripture of God.

Of the Chvrche and Busshops.

From the leuenth leafe vntyll the eightenth is saide, what y^{e} Churche of God is, & of the order and power of the Bushops, & there be many pointes patched in, which wyll and rightfully maye be spokē against and withstanded of godly and learned men.

But in as moche as these sayeinges, almoste to the ende of the article, be general, moche contaynyng, doubtfull and hastie sayinges, we wyll not counsell yᵗ ꝓur most gracyous *Prynce meddle moche in this Article. It is truthe that the churche is a congregacion or company gathered together of the right beleuing, and that no man shal deuide and disseuer him selfe from the Churche. But than is this the question, which be those right beleuing?

* Understande, because yᵗ laymē can not so well answer to these matters of Byshops powers which be craftelie set out in yᵉ boke: He must be better learned thē yᵉ lordes cōmenly be yᵗ shall stoppe theyr mouthes.

And because the disseueryng and parting from the church is made an heuy and highe faute (to our dispise and shame, be ye suer) is this our answere for neade theragaynst, which the boke it self acknowledgeth, that the teachers muste fynde faute with false learning, and false Godsseruyces. Nowe yf the withstanders of yᵉ trueth wyll not geue place, and yᵗ so discorde and debate folowe therevppon, so be the pesecuters of the trueth, & specially in needy weighty matters, fauty before God, and not the poare Godly people that preach or receyue the trueth. This is plain, and the saying of S. Paul is knowen to many. If an Aungell in heauen preache any other ghospell, holde hym accursed. But that there be many great erroures and mysvses defended of the Romebushop and his, nowe at this tyme, that is playne: And the boke it selfe hath foūde fawte at some erroures, whiche yet the Counsels holden at Trident and Bonony† haue strengthened.

Let this be ynoughe for the excuse of our churches at this tyme.

We beseche also our moste graciouse Prynce and his prayse worthy lande, that yf the Byshoppes wil haue vs to be obedient to them, that that maye be done with thys condycyon and after this facion, that they persecute not the trueth, and sette not vp agayne vngodly ceremonyes in the lande.

Furthermore, thys muste also be shewed, neede dryuyng vs therto: Although we wyll charge no manne to take in hande all these disputacions whiche stycke in this Artycle, for they be not all a lyke nedefull, and some thynges there

† Trent and Bologna.

be whereto the suer and stedfaste wytnesses of the olde churche be neadefull, which euery man can not seake out, and we kepe this laboure for our self & some other: y^t^ euery mā make his owne christen & profitab[l]e acknowledgyng & declaraciō for him self vpō his owne ieopdy as touchīg these & other matters: for that y^t^ the boke saith in this point of the Councels and *de potestate Interpretationis*, that is, of the power to expound y^e^ Scripture, there are many thynges to be spoken of.

God hath gracyously opened hys mynde and wil, those must we heare and receiue, and not, as in worldly kyngdomes, geue one certen person power to make exposicions at hys pleasure.

Of the sacramentes.

Of Chrystenyng there is no strife, and our churches haue christenly and with profet striuen as touchyng the chrystenyng of chyldren, and other articles belongyng thereto: and shewed good and sure ground agaynst many errours of the Anabaptistes or Againcchristeners or twisechristeners, & this our labour hath profitably holpen to the declaring of manye Artycles.

Of Confirmacion and anoyntyng.

Of these thynges I councell also that we stryue not, but so muche as belongeth to the callyng vpō or praying vnto saintes, wherof we will hereafter speake. And although it displease vs that men so praise both these workes, Confirmaciō, & anoyntyng, that they make them like thother Sacramentes, & bynde the working of y^e^ holy ghost therto, wheras it is yet plaine, that thei be so paīted out but for a shew: yet wyl we not at this time dispute therof, and commyt it also to euery mans owne acknowledgyng.

But we cannot agree vnto this blasphemyng of God, y^t^ mē should charge our priestes to receaue and reache out suche Anoyntinges and vngodly consecraciōs, wherof they falsly crake and boast in *Pontificalibus* & *Agenden*, y^t^ the holy ghost, forgeuenes of sinnes, & other giftes of god and defence agaynst the deuell, is geuen therby, and that they should serue for the helthe of bodye and soule, &c.

Of Repentaunce.

All menne of vnderstandyng knowe that before these our dayes the Monkes & Freers learning in this Article of Repētaunce was full of great errours & blyndnesse. They could shew no sure coūforth, yee they taught rather theragaynst, that we shoulde alwayes abyde in doubte of the forgeuenes of synnes. They haue also loaded the conscyences with thunpossible tellyng of our synnes, and afterwarde with the erroures of Satisfaccions, with pardons and manye supersticions and misbelefes.

These selfe same erroures and mysuses did first raise this strife of the learnyng. For Godly preachers which were men of vnderstanding muste nedes finde faute at suche erroures and blasphemyes of God.

And the learnyng of Repentaunce is through goddes grace so well and surely declared, that all men of vnderstandyng, acknowledge that the same christen declaraciō taught in our churches is right true and coūfortable, and also profitable to the righte praying and callyng vnto god, and to the knowledge of the gospell.

Of Confession.

Confession is also diligentlye kept in our Churches with a good exposicion therof, that the absolucion shall be sought therin, for we iudge that the priuy absolucion is nedefull to be kept, for great and weyghtye causes, in asmuche as it is a witnesse, that there is forgeuenes of sinnes in the Churche, and that they that be fallen after theyr Christenyng maye be agayne receaued. It is also very good that ther be some certeyne acknowledgyng and pullyng downe or lowlines of the herte, so that they that desyre absolucion shewe themselues repentaunt and sorowful, and acknowledge that they be synners and trespacers before God.

But yet we wyl not loade the conscyences with this perlouse and vnneadful burthen, that they should thynke it were nedefull to tell all and euery of the synnes that they haue done.

And forasmuche as this Article belongeth to al mennes cōsciences, we counsell not that all men agre to this poynt.

Of Satisfaccion.

Of Satisfaccion is muche easlyer and Jentlyer spoken in the boke, then before tymes in the learnyng of the Monckes and Freers. But the sayinges contayne many thinges in them whiche haue neade of much declaryng. Therfore we also comit this Artycle to euery mans owne declaracyon and acknowledgyng.

Of the Sacrament of christes body and bloudde.

In this matter are not oure Churches agaynste the boke: But yf ther be any further declaracyon demaũded of any man as touching this Article, him we suffer to speake thereof through his owne confessyon and acknowledgyng.

Of makyng or annoynting of prystes.

It displeaseth not vs, that this is reckened in the noumbre of the Sacramentes, if it be ryghte and Chrystenly kepte and holden: And we wyshe that it might be so kepte in all maner of landes & countreyes with great dylygence that it were not onely a ceremonye or a dysguysyng & playe, but that they that be ordeyned be well heard and instruct or taught, and that there were an erneste commaundement geuen with y^e^ ceremony, and also that there wer afterwarde diligent heede taken to the learnyng and to the maners of the priestes.

Of Mariage.

This Artycle is neadfull, that in the dyuorcyng of the fautelesse person, the second maryage be graunted.

Therefore is that poynt in the boke as touchyng this matter, that there maye no further dyuorcemente be made then from bedde and bourde, not to be agreed vnto.

Of the Masse.

The booke acknoweledgeth, that the Masse deserueth not forgeuenesse of synnes. That is true. But that they after-

ward further alleage sayinges out of the olde and new teachers as touchyng the oblacion & offeryng to strēgthen theyr preuy Masse, those be sayinges that cōtain many thynges in them, and it were very easy to shew good suer groūd out of S. Austen* and other theragaynst, that the same sayinges belong not to theyr preuy Masse and oblacion or offeryng, for althoughe they call it an offeryng, yet declare they them selues thus, that it deseruethe not forgeuenes of Synnes. And also that they them selues offer not the Sonne to God the father, for that is the owne & onely worcke of the onely begotten sonne, that he offereth himselfe, as the texte speaketh Heb: 9, He is gone into the holy place throughe his owne bloude, he standeth before the father as a peace-maker for euer, and prayeth for vs, in the same moste preuy coūcel, whiche is the holy place.

But of the offeryng that men offer, they say it is a thancksgeuing and a rememberaunce, that is, therwith we throughe belefe praye for and receaue the forgeuenesse that is obtayned and gotten for the sonnes sake. And this prayer and thankesgeuyng shall be made in the dealing out and in the vse of the sacramēt †, as it is commaunded and instituted. And the ‡ceremony of it selfe withoute this worck in the herte, in belefe, prayer and thankesgeuyng, is no offeryng.

† Not of Masse.

‡ This is the Masse of it selfe.

And let this be ynough spoken of the olde teachers, whereof we offer oure selues to geue further declaracyon at all tymes.

And because ther lyeth muche of this matter, in that that it belongeth to all chrystendome, and for that that the Masse is through many erroures comen in to great misuse: for whiche God vndoutedly punysheth the worlde, as it is wrytten, whoso vnworthely vseth the Sacrament, maketh hymselfe gylty of the Body and bloud of Chryste: ought men with great earnest to seke and helpe to kepe, mayntayne, and vpholde, the trueth of this Artycle, to the honoure of God and saluacyon of menne.

And this is also one of thartycles whiche belongeth in

* St. Augustine.

generall to all menne bothe learned and vnlearned. Wherefore shortely to aunswere to this question,

Whether the preuy Masse, or the Masse without a companye takyng it to gether be to be set vp agayne?

This is our answere. That we with true meanyng, counsel that we sette not vp the Masse agayne that is done without a company receauyng it together. And the playne reason why, is this.

There shall no Gods seruyce be ordened or done in the Churche, that is not ordeyned and commaunded in the worde of God. And the vse of the Sacramente is so ordeyned and not otherwyse, that the dealyng oute and the vse be kepte and done, as the sonne of God sayeth. Take it and eate it, &c. And drynke all thereof, &c. And, doe this in my remembraunce. And it was also thus holden many hundreth yeares in the fyrste churche.

Therefore is this fyrst vse agreyng with the wordes of Chryste, suerly the ryght and true vse, and shalbe mayntened vpholden and kepte, and there shall no other worckes be set vp therein, whiche are not commaunded.

There haue not been also alwayes in tymes paste dayly Masses. But at Alexaundria, whiche was a great cytye, was the Cōmunion holden three tymes a weke, on sonday, wensdaye and fridaye, and in many other Cities onely vpon the Sondaye and holy daye.

This olde goodly and godly custome, is throughe goddes grace with all reuerence, with sermons, Leassons, commaundementes and thanckesgeuynges, orderly holden in our Churches.

And yf there be any other worck sette vp in the stede of these, that offence wyll wounde many hertes, and feare them wholly from the communyon.

There are also mo burthens hāgyng vpon this artycle of the Masse, as to saye, of the Canon, prayer to Saynctes, and Soull Masses.

The Canon sayth playnly that this worke is holden for the redēpcion & raunsoming of the soules, &c. Whereby all the vnlearned haue vnderstanded, that this worke de-

serueth forgeuenes of sines, which meanyng is also against the booke.

There be also other vnmete sayinges in the Canon, as when the priest prayeth that God will take in good worth that offeryng, as he did Abels offeryng, where they yet vnderstand the offeryng of the sōne of God.

To be shorte, there be so manye horrible misuses in the popishe custome and facyon, that we shrynke and quake for feare whē we speake of them, and praye therfore that no man may be loadē with the setting vp of suche thynges.

Of the praying to Sayntes.

The praying to a substaunce y^{t} cannot be seen, which is not by vs, geueth to the same substaūce this honour, that it knoweth and can iudge all mennes hertes and al their thoughtes and sighes.

This honour belongeth onely to the substaunce of God, wherfore the praying to Saynctes is not right nor lawfull.

And although they haue fayned hereagaynst that god geueth them a seuerall reuelacyon of suche praier as is made vnto them, that is spoken without the booke.* And we set theragainst, this highe saying: Thou shalt cal vpō or praie vnto thy lord God, & serue hym alone.

* For the scripture speaketh of no suche thyng, they fayne this of their owne prayers.

And where as they also saye, that they be prayed vnto as seruauntes and aduocates: This answere also is not ynough: For the praying vnto them is of it selfe a wytnesse and token, that they that be not seen, are made almightye, the whyle the propertie whiche belongeth to god almyghty, is geuen vnto them.

Secondarily, we maye not haue other mediatours, annexed & sette vnto Christ, to be in iointer w^{t} him.

Thirdly, it is also openly knowē to all the world, that men haue not onely sought to make the Saintes mediatours, but y^{t} they haue also sought a sondry helpe by euery one of them.

This great Idolatrie shoulde be strēgthened if that beginnyng, and praier to them, of which the booke speaketh, be kept and holden.

Fourthly. There maye no godsseruice be brought into the churche which god hath not ordened in his word: and as for prayig to saintes hath no commaundement of God, as is openly knowen.

Fyfthly. Mans herte may not, nor cannot praye, when it knoweth not whether suche a forme of prayer please god or not. And there is no word of god that teacheth vs so to praye. Yee there be theragaynst strong commaundementes, which teache that onely the one godly substaunce ought to be prayed vnto, & y^{t} thorowe the mediatour. And this saying must abide fast & suer, whatsoeuer ye aske of the *Father in my name*, he will geue it you. This onely begotten sonne is sette before vs for our Mediatour, peacemaker and speaker for.

Hereagaynst sayeth the Booke not onelye of the speakyng for vs, but also of the deseruinges of the Saynctes, whiche is yet more to be rebuked.

And this is a shamefull lye, that it saith, that Jacob taught his children to praye vnto Abraham, to Isaac, and to him, and expoundeth the saying Gene. 48. They shall be called myne and Abrahams and Isaacs chyldren, that is, I wytnesse that the promyses whiche he promysed me and Abraham & Isaac, shall inheret vpon them, as vpon our aftercomers, that is to saye, y^{t} they shall suerly haue one churche and ordre, and that many of them shalbe inheritoures of euerlastyng lyfe.

This true vnderstanding of the texte leaueth the boke out, and fayneth a false of praying to Saynctes.

There be also other mo sayinges in the Booke that are wrong expounded. Hereby it is playne, y^{t} no manne maye agree or consent to these Articles of the boke, in which the prayer to Saynctes is commaunded and strengthened.

Howbeit it is profitable for many thinges to know the whole story of the churche frō the beginning to the ending, to take witnesse therof, that god vpholdeth his churche alwaies, and that god be thanked, that he hath opened and shewed himself in the Saynctes.

And also that we teache and strengthen our selues with thinsāple of the Saynctes.

The true storyes of the Saynctes are also often alleged of vs in Sermons, and shewed to y^e^ people, whiche thyng we wyll also from henceforth do.

Of Soule Masses.

These Masses are almoste the moste commen Ceremonies in Abbayes and in other churches in maner in all Countreyes and lādes, for they bryng moneye. And there be many erroures comen into the world through Soulemasses, wherof it is to long to speake at this tyme.

But it is also a peruertīg of y^e^ Sacrament, y^t^ it is applyed for y^e^ deed. For y^e^ Sacramēt was instituted to stirre vp & strēgthen y^e^ belefe of the liuing, and also for a remēbraunce. Now are not the dead presēt at it: And it is saide without any groūd, that the priest deserueth them anye thyng through these Ceremonyes.

Therefore maye not this Article in the boke be consēted vnto in anywyse, and the saying of S. Denise whiche is alleged as touchyng the burying, speaketh no whit of the Masse. Where as some also haue praied for the dead, y^t^ maketh nothyng at all for the Masse. Let this also be ynough therof at this tyme.

Of Ceremonyes.

In our Churches are the chiefe Ceremonyes belonging to good ordre, as Sondaye, & holy dayes with vsed and accustomed synging and readyng, not muche chaunged.

We wyll also kepe and hold the same with diligence. And if any mā shall ymagyn anye thyng in suche meane and indifferēt thynges, with the good Counsell of them that ought to rule the Churche, whiche shoulde serue for more vnyformitie and good and manerly ordre, we will gladly helpe to vpholde it. For we wyll not stryue or braule for suche meane thynges, so ferre as the christen vse therof stretcheth.

We care not also whether men eate fleshe or fishe. And yet we maie not let the learnyng of the difference of meates and of the true godsseruyce, in suche meane vnneady thynges be quenched out, as they were almoste before these

dayes cleane quenched out. As S. Austen at his tyme, and an C. yeare agone *Gerson*, yee and fyftye yeare agone *Wessalus* at Basill, Wesell and Meyntz, and certen other, haue sore complayned. For although ther be alwaies great heapes of errours in the Churche from the begynnyng to the ending, yet abydeth there in some, the true knowledge of God, true prayer, and better vnderstanding of the Godly learnyng, then in the great multitude, and it is Gods wyll that euery manne be instructed and taughte truely and rightly of the true seruice of God.

But as touchyng the songes belonging to the Saynctes, therof haue I sayde, that the praying to them is not to be receaued.

Item in asmuche as we deuyde [not] the Sacrament in our Churches, must those Processions be lefte out wherin the one parte is caryed aboute.

It is also true and suer, that the Sacramentes in their vse, as they be ordened in gods worde, are right Sacramentes: & not when they be turned to other straunge workes to which they be not ordened or institute. Therfore is that spectacle in y^e^ Procession vnright, and ought not to be strengthened or set vp againe.

Moreouer, This is well knowen to the withstanders, that the p.euy Masse, prayīg to sainctes, soule-masses, and the Procession, and certein other suche vses, although they might be excused, be yet neadelesse and ieopardouse: And that that example of settyng them vp agayne, strengtheneth the great erroures and misuses among the* other, & bryngeth them in agayne into these Churches. They knowe also that that offence wyll sore greue manye godly men, and that muche persecucion wyll be sought, and manye priestes and other persons banished, prysoned, and happely kylled.

* Understand, the withstanders of the truth.

And these Countreyes are now through gods grace furnished with many gyftes of God, more then other Coūtreies be, with Churches, with metely good manerly order, lawe, a good trade of lyuing, and with prayseworthy scyences: therfore can we not counsell that we oure selues shoulde destroye this metely good estate and degree, and that agaynste Gods commaundement.

And in asmuche as it is writtē, That that whiche is of God, abydeth, it wyll be so foūd in very dede that although a chaunge shoulde be begonne in the Churche in some places, that yet this learning which we preache, wyll abyde in other landes, so that that *Interim* wyll make but small vnitie.

And where as warre is feared herefore, thereof we wyll shewe our lowly and obedient meanyng: That the powers & rulers knowe what they shall do in this matter, and what they ought or can do for the defence of the Churche. And as for my persō I am through gods grace ready to departe from hence, or if nede be, to suffre.

But yet we do it not of wranglynge or pryde, that we councell not easelyer and handsomlyer in this matter. But Gods commaundemēt byndeth vs, not to forsake nor to persecute the knowen trueth. We truste also that this wrytyng wyll declare and shewe it selfe, that we striue not, for dignite, honour, or riches, but that we onely speake of neadfull learnyng and true Godsseruyces.

We wyll not also loade the hygher powers or other men with suche seueral disputacyons as may not be well knowen of all menne, but wyll kepe y^{t} for vs & other, to whose calling it belōgeth to teach other men, y^{t} every one of vs aunswere and acknowledge his owne confession, vpon his owne Jeoperdie.

It is not also oure mynde to teache any newe or other thing, but onely this one and true learnyng whiche throughe Godes grace is vniformely preached of the Godlye and menne of vnderstandyng in the Churches of these landes and countreies, and is acknowledged and approued in bothe the vniuersytyes Lypsg and wyttenberg: which we know is the true learnyng and true vnderstandyng of the euerlastyng Catholick Church from the begynnyng of the worlde vnto this daye. And this is the meaning of our consyderacion, that these Churches bee not brought out of reast and peace, but that they may abyde in praying vnto God, and in the true Godsseruices. For if the consciences be ones wounded with offence, prayer wyll be sore weakened, and many synnes wyll folowe, as dispise and anger against al religiōs, frō whiche synnes God graciousely saue vs.

These two vniuersities be bothe in Duke Moris lād, at this time.

And in as much as it was of late wrytē vnto vs, that it is highly forbydden in the prologe, to preache, teache, or write agaynst this *Interim*, nede dryuethe vs with lowlynesse to saye thus muche, that we wyll not chaunge the true learnyng whiche we haue hytherto preached in oure Churches. For no creature hath power or authority to chaunge Gods trueth. And no man maye also deny or forsake the knowen trueth. Seīg therefore that this *Interim* is against the true learnyng in many Articles, whiche we haue declared, we muste neades shewe a true declaracyon & aunswere thereto, whiche thyng we wyll also do with chrysten measure: and wyll commit the ieoperdye to y^e^ Almighty and euerlasting God, and father of oure Lorde Jesus Christ. And forasmuche as God of his vnspeakable goodnes geathereth him selfe an euerlastyng Churche, and hath opened his wounderfull coūsel thereof, aboue all mens wysdome and thoughtes, we pray vnto hym, that he himselfe wyll alwayse vpholde maintayne and kepe the same his learning, and also gather hymselfe an euerlastyng Church in these Landes and countreis, & graunt us therto good gouernaunce and rule. Amen. FINIS.

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Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

DECLARATION OF THE PREACHERS IN PRISON,

WITH THEIR CONFESSION OF FAITH.*

BECAUSE we heare that it is determined of the Magistrates, and suche as be in authoritie, especially of the Clergie, to sende vs spedely out of the prysons of the kynges benche, the Fleet, the Marshalsey, & Newgate, where presently we are, and of long time some of vs hath ben, not as rebelles, traytours, sedicious persones, Theues, or Transgressours of anye lawes of this Realme, inhibitions, proclamations, or cōmaundements of the Quenes highnes, or of any of the councelles (God's name be praysed therfore) but alonely for the cōscience we haue to God and his moste holy word and truthe, vpon most certain knowledge: because we say, we heare that it is determined, we shal be sent to one of the vniuersities of Cābridge, or Oxforde, there to dispute with suche as are appointed in that behalfe: In that we purpose not to dispute otherwyse then by wryting, except it may be before the Quenes highnes and her councell, or before the Parliament houses, and therfore perchaūce it wilbe bruted abroad, that we are not able to maintain by the truth of Gods word, and the consent of the true and catholique churche of Christe, the doctrine we haue generally, and seuerally taught, & some of vs hath written and set forth, wherthrough the godly and simplie may be offended & some tyme weakened: We haue thought it oure bounden dutie, now whilest we may, by wryting to publishe and notifie the causes why we will not dispute otherwyse then is aboue said, to preuente the offences whiche myght come thereby.

* This Declaration is copied, literally, from the Acts and Monuments, edition of 1563, pp. 1001–3.

First, because it is euidently knowen vnto the whole worlde, that the determinations of both the vniuersities in matters of religion, especially wherein we should dispute, are directly against Gods word, yea against their owne determinations in the tyme of oure late soueraigne Lorde and moste godly Prince, kinge Edward: and further it is knowē they be oure open enemies, and haue already condempned our causes, before any disputation had of the same.

Secondly, because the Prelates and Clergie, do not seeke either vs or y^e^ veritie, but our distruction and their glorie: For if they hadde sought vs, as charitie requireth, then woulde they haue called vs foorth hereaboutes tofore their lawes were so made, that franckly and without perill we might haue spoken our consciences: Againe if they sought for the veritie, they would not haue concluded of controuersies, tofore they had ben disputed: so that it easely appeareth, that they seke their own glorie and our destructiō, and not vs and the veritie, and therfore we haue good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing whiche shall not further preuayle, then to the setting forth of their glorie, and the suppression of the veritie.

Thirdly, because the Censors and iudges, (as we heare who thei be) ar manifest enemies to the truthe, and that whiche worse is, obstinate enemies, before whome perles are not to be cast, by the commaundement of our sauiour Jesus Christ, and by his owne example: That they be suche, their doings of late at Oxforde, and in the conuocation house in October laste past, do moste euidently declare.

Fourthly, because some of vs haue bene in pryson these viii. or ix. monethes, where we haue had no bokes, no paper, no pēne, no inke, or conuenient place for study, we thinke wee should do euill thus sodaynly to discende into disputation with them, whiche may alledge as they liste, the fathers and their testimonies, because our memories haue not that whiche we haue redde so redely, as to reproue, whan they shall reporte and wreste the Authors to their purpose, or to bryng foorth that we may haue there for our auauntage.

Fiftly, because in disputation we shall not be permitted to prosecute our arguments, but be stopped when we would

speake, one saying thus, another that, the thirde his mynde, &c. As was done to the godly learned fathers, especially D. Ridley at Oxforde, who coulde not be permitted to declare his mynde & meaning of the propositions, and had oftentimes halfe a dosen at ones speakyng againste hym: always letting him to prosecute his argumēt, and to answer accordinglie: we wil not speake of the hissing, scoffing, and taunting, whiche wonderfully then was vsed. If on this sorte & muche worse they handled these fathers thus: muche more wyll they be shameles bold with vs if we shoulde enter into disputation with them.

Syxtly, because the Notaries that shall receiue and wryte the disputatiōs shalbe of their appointmēt, and suche as either do not or dare not fauour the truthe, and therfore must write either to please them, or els they them selues, (the Censours and iudges we meane) at their pleasure wyl put to and take from that which is wrytten by the Notaries, who can not, nor must not haue in their custody that which they wryte, longer then the disputation indureth, as their doynges at Oxforde declareth. No copie or scrowle coulde any man haue by theyr good wyll. For the Censors and iudges wyll haue all deliuered into their handes: yea if any man was seene there, to wryte (as the reporte is) the same man was sent for, and his wrytynges taken from him: so must the disputatiō serue onely for the glorie, not of God, but of the enemies of his truthe.

For these causes we all thynke it so necessarie not to dispute with them, as if we did dispute we should doe that whiche they desyre & purposely purpose, to promote the kingdome of Antichrist, and to suppresse, (as muche as may be) the truthe. We will not speake of the offence that myght come to the godly, when they shoulde heare, by the reporte of oure enemies, our answeres and argumentes (you may be sure) framed for their fantasies, to the slaundering of the veritie.

Therfore we publishe and by this wryting notifie vnto the whole congregation & church of Englande, that for these aforesaide causes we will not dispute with them, otherwyse thē with the penne, vnles it be before the Quenes

highnes and her Councell, or before the houses of the parliament, as is aboue sayd. If they wyll wryte, we will aunswere, and by wryting confirme and proue out of the infallible veritie, euen the very word of God, and by the testimonie of the good and moste auncient fathers in Christe his churche, this our faythe and euery peece thereof, whiche hereafter we in a summe do wryte, and sende abroade purposely, that our good bretherne and systerne in the Lorde may knowe it, and to seale vp the same we are ready through Gods helpe and grace to geue our lyues to y^e^ haltar or stake*, or otherwyse as God shall appointe, humbly requiring, and in the bowelles of oure sauioure Jesus Christe, besechyng all that feare God, to behaue them selfes as obedient subiectes to the Quenes highnes and the superiour powers, whiche are ordeined of God vnder her, rather after our example to giue their heades to the blocke, then in any point to rebell or once to mutter against the Lordes annoynted: we meane our soueraigne Lady Quene Mary, in to whose harte we beseche the Lorde of mercy plentifully to powre the wysdome and grace of his holy spirite, now and for euer, Amen.

First, we confesse and beleue all the Canonicall bookes of the olde Testament, and all the bookes of the newe Testament, to bee the very true worde of God, and to be wrytten by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, and therfore to be heard accordingly, as the iudge in al controuersies and matters of religion.

Secondly we confesse and beleue the catholyke churche (whiche is the spouse of Christe,) as a moste obedient and louyng wyfe, to embrace and followe the doctrine of these bookes in all matters of religiō, and therfore is she to be heard accordyng†: so that those whiche wyll not heare this churche, thus followynge and obeying the woorde of her husbande, we accompt as heretiques and schismatikes, according to this saying: If he wyll not heare the churche, let hym be vnto the as a Heathen.

Thirdly, we beleue and confesse all the articles of fayth

* The word "fire" is substituted for "stake", in subsequent editions.

† Accordingly—in later editions.

and doctrine, set forth in the symbole of the Apostles, whiche we commonly cal the crede, and in the symboles of the councelles of Nice, kept in *An. dñi.* 324*: of Constantinople kept in *An. dñi.* 384†: of Ephesus kept in *An. dñi.* 432‡: of Calcedonie, kept in *An.* 454.§ of Toletum, the first and the fourthe‖: also the symboles of Athanasius, Ireneus, Tertulliã, and of Damasus, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord .376¶: we confesse & beleue (we say) the doctrine of these symboles generally & particularly: so that whosoeuer dothe otherwyse, we holde the same to erre from the truthe.

Fourthly, we beleue and confesse concernyng iustification, that as it commeth onelye from Goddes mercye throughe Christ, so it is perceiued and had of none which be of yeres of discretion, otherwyse thē by faith onely, which fayth is not an opinion, but a certayne persuasion wrought by the holy ghost in the mynde & heart of man, where throughe as the mynde is illumined, so the heart is soupled to submyt it selfe to the wyll of god vnfaynedly, and so sheweth forth an inherent ryghteousnesse, which is to be discerned in the article of iustification, from the ryghteousnesse whiche God endueth vs withall, in iustifying vs, although inseperablye they goe together. And this we do not for curiositie or contention sake, but for conscience sake, that it might be quiet, which it can neuer be, if we confound without distinctiō, forgeuenesse of synnes, and Christes iustice imputed to vs, with regeneration and inherent ryghteousnesse. By this we disalow Papisticall Doctrine of free-wil, of workes of supererogation, of merites, of the necessitie of auricular Confession, and satisfaction to Godwardes.

Fiftly, we confesse and beleue concernynge the exteriour

* Correctly, A.D. 325. † Correctly, A.D. 381. ‡ Correctly, A.D. 431. § Correctly, A.D. 451. The absence of exactness in these four dates must have been owing to the inability of the preachers to refer to their books, of their deprivation of which they previously complain, and which appears to have been rigidly and invariably enforced.

‖ The first Council of Toledo was held A.D. 400; the fourth A.D. 633: the latter is commonly called the fourth, although it was technically the seventh.

¶ Damasus was elected Bishop of Rome, A.D. 366.

seruice of God, that it ought to be according to the worde of God, and therfore in the congregation all thynges publike oughte to be done in suche a tongue as maye be moste to edifye, and not in latin, wher the people vnderstande not the same.

Sixthly, we confesse and beleue that God onely by Christe Jesus is to bee prayed vnto & called vppon, and therefore we disalowe inuocation or praier to Sainctes departed this life.

Seuenthly, we confesse and beleue, that as a man departeth this lyfe, so shall he be iudged in the last day generally, and, in the meane season is entred eyther into the state of y^e^ blessed for euer, or damned for euer, and therfore is either past all helpe, or els nedeth no help of any in this life, by reason whereof we affyrme Purgatorye, Masses of *Scala cœli* *, Trentalles †, and suche Suffrages as the popish churche doeth obtrude as necessarye, to be the doctrine of Antichrist.

Eightly, we confesse and beleue the Sacramentes of Christe, which be Baptisme and the Lordes Supper, that they ought to bee minystred according to the institution of Christ, concerning the substantiall partes of them. And that they be no longer Sacramentes, then thei be had in vse, and vsed to the ende for y^e^ which they wer instituted.

And here we playnely confesse that the mutilation of the Lordes Supper, and the subtraction of one kinde from the laye people, is Antichristian.

And so is the doctryne of Transubstantiation of the Sacramentall bread and wine after the wordes of consecration as they be called.

Item, The Adoration of the Sacramente, with honoure due vnto God, the reseruation, and confirmation ‡ of the same.

* For the convenience of those who could not personally visit the real "Sacred Steps" at Rome, other privileged places were substituted, and the same indulgences granted.

† Trental: thirty masses said for a person deceased, on as many different days.

‡ Foxe afterwards substituted the expression "carrying about."

Item, the Masse to be a propitiatory sacryfice for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaseth god.

All these we confesse and beleue to be Antichristes doctrine, as is the inhibitiō of Maryage as vnlawfull to any state. And we doubte not by gods grace, but we shal be able to proue all our confessions heare to be most true by the veritye of gods worde, and consent of the Catholike church, whiche foloweth, and hath folowed the gouernaunce of goddes spirite, and the iudgement of his worde.

And this through the Lordes helpe we wyll doe, eyther in disputation by worde, before the Queenes highnesse, and her Counsayle, either before the Parliamente houses, of whome we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, either with our pennes, whensoeuer we shalbe therto by them that haue autoritie requyred & commaunded: In the meane season as obedyente subiectes we shall behaue our selues towardes all that be in autoritie, and not cease to praye to god for them, that he woulde gouerne them all, generally, and particularly with the spirit of wisedome and grace. And so we heartely desire, and humbly praye all menne to doe, in no poynt consenting to any kynde of rebellion or sedition agaynst oure Soueraigne Ladye the Quenes highnesse, but where they cannot obey, but they muste disobey god, there to submitte themselues with all patience and humylitie to suffer as the wyll and pleasure of the higher powers shall adiudge: As we are ready throughe the goodnesse of the Lorde to suffer whatsoeuer they shall adiudge vs vnto, rather thē we wil consēt to any contrary doctrine thē thys we heare confesse, vnlesse we shalbe iustly conuinced therof, ether by writing or by word, before suche iudges as the Queenes highnes and her counsayle, or the Parliament houses*: For the Uniuersities and Clergy haue cōdemned our causes already by the bigger, and not by the

* To this sentence, Foxe, in his second edition, added the words "shall appoint", which have been retained in most, if not all, modern versions. This is evidently wrong, as it is in direct opposition to previous declarations. The preachers were willing to dispute orally *only* before the Queen, her Council, or the two houses of Parliament. The very next sentence furnishes the reason for this restriction.

better part, withoute all disputation of the same. And therefore moste iustly we maye, and doe appeale from them to bee our iudges in this behalfe, except it may be in writynge, y^{t} to all men the matter may appeare. The Lord of mercye endue vs all with the spirite of hys truthe and grace of perseuerance therein vnto the ende. Amen. The .8. of May. An. Do. 1554.

Robert Menauen, alias	Ioannes Hoper.
Robert Ferrar.	Edwarde Crome.
Rowlande Taylor.	Iohn Rogers.
Iohn Philpot.	Laurentius Saunders.
Iohn Bradforde.	Edmunde Lawrence.*
Ioannes Wigorn &	I. P.†
Glouc. Episcopus, alias	T. M.†

☞ To these thinges aboue said, do I Myles Couerdale, late of Exon, consent and agree with these my afflicted brethren, being prysoners, with mine own hand.‡

* No other reference to an *Edmund* Lawrence is found in the histories of the times, and this is, perhaps, one of Foxe's errors. Strype calls him *John* Lawrence. One of that name, who had been a priest, had his examination on the 8th of February, 1555, was condemned on the 9th, and burnt at Colchester on the 29th of the same month. He had suffered so severely from ill treatment while in prison, especially from the effects of heavy irons on his legs, that he was carried to the stake in a chair, and burned while sitting in it.

† A great many conjectures have been made as to the persons whom these initials designated, but, as none of them possess any degree of probability, it is useless to perpetuate them.

‡ This codicil to the document always appeared rather mysterious. Coverdale was not in prison, and there seems no good reason why he only, of all those not then in confinement, should have been called upon to affix his name to it. The writer strongly suspects that it was a subsequent piece of supererogation on his part, and that, if the original paper were discovered, these lines would not be found upon it, or, at all events, that they were not placed there at the time it was signed by the others. Certainly, it would have been courting their fate, and it is inconceivable that he could have escaped immediate arrest, or failed to share their punishment.

PETITION OF THE PREACHERS IN PRISON.*

Vnto the King and Queenes most excellent Maiesties, and to their most honourable and high Court of Parliament.†

In most humble and lamentable wyse complain vnto your maiesties, and to your high court of Parliamēt, your poore desolate and obedient subiectes, H. F. T. B. P. R. S.‡ &c. That where as your sayd subiectes liuyng vnder the lawes of god and of this realme in the dayes of the late most noble kyng Edward 6. did in all thinges shew themselues true, faithful and diligent subiectes, according to their vocation, as well in the sincere ministring of gods holy worde, as in due obedience to the higher powers, and in the dailye practise of such vertues and good demeanour, as the lawes of God at all tymes, and the statutes of the realme did then allowe: your sayd subiectes neuertheles, contrary to all lawes of iustice, equitie and right, are in very extreme maner, not only cast into prison (where they haue remayned now these 15. or 16. monthes)§ but their liuings also, their houses and possessions, their goods and bookes taken from them, and they slaundered to be most haynous heretickes, their enemyes them selues being both witnesses, accusers, and Iudges, belying, sclaundering, and misreport-

* This Petition is copied, literally, from the Acts and Monuments, edition of 1576, p. 1413. It does not appear in that of 1563.

† The first Parliament of Philip and Mary is meant, which assembled November 12th, 1554.

‡ These initials represent Hooper, Ferrar, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Rogers, and Saunders.

§ This statement sufficiently establishes the date of this Petition. The first arrests having been made about the middle of August, 1553, the longest period mentioned—sixteen months—would bring it to about the middle of December, 1554.

ing your sayd subiectes at their pleasure: wheras your sayd subiects being straightly kept in prison, can not yet be suffered to come forth and make aunswere accordingly.

In consideration whereof, it may please your most excellent Maiesties, and this your high court of Parlament, graciouslye to tender* the present calamitie of your sayde poore subiectes, and to call thē before your presence, graunting them liberty, either by mouth or writing in the plaine English tong, to aunswer before you or before indifferent Arbiters to bee appointed by your maiesties† vnto such Articles of controuersie in Religion as their sayde aduersaries haue alredy condemned them of, as of haynous heresies: Prouided, that all thinges may be done with such moderation and quiet behauiour, as becommeth subiectes and children of peace, and that your said subiects may haue the free vse of all their owne bookes and conference together among themselues.

Which thing beyng graunted, your said subiectes doubt not but it shall plainly appeare that your said subiectes are true and faithfull christians, and neither heretikes, neyther teachers of heresie, nor cut of from the true catholicke vniuersall church of Christ: Yea, that rather their aduersaries themselues be vnto your maiesties, as were the charmers of Egipt vnto Pharao Sedechias and his adherentes, vnto the king of Israel: and Bariesu to the Proconsull Sergius Paulus. And if your said subiectes be not able by the testimonye of Christ, his Prophets, Apostles, and godly fathers of hys church to proue, that the doctrine of the church, Homelies, and seruice, taught and set foorth in the tyme of our late most godly prince and kyng Edward the 6. is the true doctrine of Christes catholike Church, and most agreable to the articles of the christian fayth: your sayd subiectes offer themselues then to the most heuy punishment, that it shal please your maiesties to appoint.

* I. e. to regard, or treat with tenderness.

† In contradistinction to the terms of their former Declaration, the preachers here offer to dispute *either* before the Queen and Parliament, *or* before indifferent judges appointed by them. It is not probable that they expected their Petition would be granted, but designed to relieve their former proposition from its strictness, so that it should not be afterwards used against them.

Wherfore for the tender mercy of God in Christ (which you loke for at the day of iudgement) your said poore subiectes in bondes, most humbly beseech your most excellent maiesties, and this your high courte of Parliament, beningly and graciously to heare and graunt this their petition, tending so greatly to the glory of God, to the edifiyng of his church, to the honor of your maiesties, to the commendation and maintenance of iustice, right, and equitie, both before God and man. And your sayd subiectes according to their bounden duety, shall not cease to pray vnto almighty God, for the gracious preseruation of your most excellent maiesties long to endure.

SENTENTIA CONTRA IOHANNEM ROGERS.*

In Dei nomine Amen. Nos Stephanus, permissione diuina Winton, Episcopus, iudicialiter et pro tribunali sedẽtes, in quodam hæreticæ prauitatis negotio contra te Iohannem Rogers, alias Mathew Presbiterum secularem, coram nobis in iudicio personaliter comparentem, et nobis super hæretica prauitate detectum denunciatum, & delatum, ac in ea parte apud bonos et graues notorie et publice diffamatum rite et legitime procedentes, auditis, visis intellectis, rimatis, et matura deliberatione discussis et ponderatis dicti negocii meritis & circumstanciis, seruatisque in omnibus & per omnia in eodem negocio de iure seruandis, ac quomodolibet requisitis, Christi nomine inuocato, ac ipsum solum deum præ oculis nostris habentes: Quia per Acta inactitata, deducta, probata, confessata, et per te sæpius coram nobis in eodem negotio recognita, asserta, et confirmata comperimus et inuenimus te, tum per confessiones tuas varias, tum per recognitiones tuas iudiciales, coram nobis iudicialiter factas, errores, hæreses, et falsas opiniones subscriptas, iuri diuino, ac catholicæ vniuersali, et Apostolicæ ecclesiæ determinationi obuiantes, contrarias et repugnantes tenuisse, credidisse, affirmasse, predicasse, et dogmatizasse, Viz: Quod Ecclesia Romana Catholica, est Ecclesia Antichristi. Item quod in Sacramento altaris non est realiter et substantialiter naturale corpus, et naturalis sanguis Christi. Quas quidem hæreses, errores, et falsas opiniones iuri diuino ac catholicæ vniuersalis, et Apostolicæ ecclesiæ determinationi obuiantes, contrarias et repugnantes, coram nobis tam in iudicio, quam extra, animo obstinato, pertinaci, et indurato, arroganter, pertinaciter, scienter et obstinate asseruisti, tenuisti, affirm-

* This Sentence is copied, literally, from the Acts and Monuments, edition of 1563, pp. 1029–30. Foxe afterwards invariably substituted the translation which follows.

asti, dixisti, pariter et defendisti, atque te sic credere, asserere, tenere, affirmare et dicere velle paribus obstinatia, pertinacia, malicia, et cordis cæcitate, etiam prudens et sciens affirmasti.

Idcirco nos Stephanus Winton, Episcopus, Ordinarius, et Diocesanus antedictus de venerabiliū confratrū dom. Episcoporum præsentium, et assidentium consensu et assensu expressis, quam etiam de, et cum consilio et iudicio iurisperitorum et sacrarum literarum professorum, cum quibus communicauimus in hac parte, te Iohannem Rogers alias Mathew demeritis, culpis, obstinaciis et contumatiis, per improbas et sceleratas tuas obstinatias, et pertinatias, multipliciter cōtractis, incursis, et aggrauatis, in detestabili, horrendo, et impio hæreticæ prauitatis reatu, et execrabili dogmate comprehensum fuisse et esse, atque huiusmodi scelerata, et impia dogmata, coram nobis sæpe dixisse, asseruisse, atque scienter, voluntarie et pertinaciter defendisse, et manutenuisse, per varias tuas confessiones, assertiones, et recognitiones tuas iudiciales, sæpe coram nobis repetitas, ita asseruisse, affirmasse, et credidisse, declaramus, et pronunciamus, teque in hac parte rite et legitime confessum fuisse et esse decernimus. Ideo que te Iohannem Rogers, alias Mathew antedictum huiusmodi tuos errores, hæreses, et impias, ac damnatas opiniones refutare, retractare, recantare, et abiurare in forma Ecclesiæ approbata nolentem, sed obstinate, et pertinaciter, dictis tuis sceleratis hæresibus, et execratis opinionibus inhærentem, et ad vnitatem sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ redire nolentem, præmissorum occasione, causa & pertextu, hæreticū obstinatum & pertinacem fuisse et esse cum animi dolore, et cordis amaritudine, etiā declaramus, pronunciamus, & decernimus, teque tāquam hæreticum, obstinatum et pertinacem ex nunc iudicio, siue curiæ seculari, vt membrum putridum, a corpore sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ resecatum, ad omnem iuris effectum exinde sequi valentem, relinquendum et tradendum fore decernimus, et declaramus, atque de facto relinquimus, & tradimus, teque Iohānem Rogers alias Mathew, hæreticum, pertinacem et obstinatum huiusmodi, maioris excommunicationis sententiam præmismissorum occasione innodatum et inuolutum, eaque ligatum fuisse et esse pretextu merito degradandum et ab omni ordine

sacerdotali deponendū et exuendū fore debere, iuxta sacros Canones in hac parte editos et ordinatos sententialiter et diffinitiue declaramus per hanc nostram sententiam finalem, quam in et contra te dolenter ferimus, et promulgamus in hijs scriptis. Anno. 1555. Ian. 19.*

TRANSLATION.†

In the name of God, Amen. We, Stephen, by the permission of God Bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by authority and virtue of our office, against thee, John Rogers, priest, alias called Matthew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy; having heard, seen, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered the merits of the cause; all things being observed which by us, in this behalf, in order of law, ought to be observed, sitting in our judgement seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having God only before our eyes: because, by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy Church, as namely these: *That the catholic Church of Rome is the Church of Antichrist: Item, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not, substantially nor really, the natural body and blood of Christ:* the which aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions, being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the uniuersal and apostolical Church, thou hast arro-

* This is probably a typographical error, and should be the "29th." It so stands, however, in the edition of 1563. If it were thus in the original (and the suggestion is by no means an improbable one), it would indicate that the form of Sentence, first used on the 29th, had been prepared ten days before, and that date perhaps inadvertently attached.

† This translation, it will be seen, is not a literal one, but it is deemed best to retain it in the form in which it has become familiar, especially as it contains no material omissions or additions. It was thus first published by Foxe, in his edition of 1576, pp. 1417–18. The original orthography, &c., are not retained.

gantly, stubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held and affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgment as also otherwise ; and with the like obstinacy, stubbornness, malice, and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly hast affirmed that thou wilt believe, maintain and hold, affirm and declare the same : We, therefore, Stephen Winchester, Bishop Ordinary and Diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent, as well of our reverend brethren the Lord Bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsel and judgment of divers worshipful lawyers and professors of divinity with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, through thy demerits, transgressions, obstinacies and wilfulnesses (which thou manifold ways hast incurred by thine own wicked and stubborn obstinacy), to have been and to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and wicked offences of heretical pravity and execrable doctrine ; and that thou hast before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended the said cursed and execrable doctrine, in thy sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated ; and yet still dost maintain, affirm, and believe the same ; and that thou hast been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf ; We, therefore (I say), albeit (following the example of Christ, which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live) we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and, by all lawful means that we could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true faith and unity of the universal catholic Church ; notwithstanding we have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother Church, and, as the child of wickedness and darkness, so to have hardened thy heart that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepherd, which, with a fatherly affection, doth seek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions ; — We, therefore, Stephen, the Bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou which art wicked shouldst now become more wicked

and infect the Lord's flock with thine heresy (which we are greatly afraid of), with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart, do judge thee and definitively condemn thee, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, thy demerits and defaults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother Church; and that thou hast been and art by law excommunicate; and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person: also we pronounce and declare thee, being a heretic, to be cast out from the Church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently so do leave thee as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits (requiring them, notwithstanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment, worthily to be done upon thee, may so be moderated that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretics, and to the unity of the catholic faith), by this our sentence definitive, which we here lay upon and against thee, and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid.

OFFICIAL RECORD OF ROGERS' TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION.

[From the Copy in the Harleian MS. 421. Fol. 40.]*

Die Lunæ xxviij° die Januarii.

Officium Domini contra Johannem Rogers alias Mathewe.

Die et loco predictis productus fuit in judicium dictus Johannes Rogers alias Mathew, cui Dominus declaravit atque exhortationem fecit ut se reconciliaret atque ad unitatem Ecclesiæ catholicæ rediret. Qui mox pertinaci spiritu et impudenti animo prorupit in hujusmodi verba :

My lorde, where yow say ye willyd me to ryse ageyne with yow and so to cum to the vnitie of Christes Church, I take yow by those yowr wordes that yow willyd me to fall; ffor I do vnderstande the Church otherwise than yow do: ffor I do vnderstande the Church of Christ, & yow do vnderstande the Romysshe Churche of Antichrist. And I say that the popes Church which yow beleve is the Church of Antichrist.

Also he saith, as towching his beleve in the sacrament of the Altare, That he belevith that Christ is in heaven, and beleavith not that his very body and blood is really and substancially in the sacrament of the altar.

Also he saith that in that he, beyng a priest, did mary, he offended no lawe.

And saith also that the bisshops maynteyne herein one false faith, one false doctrine, and one false worlde.†

* From the collection of Foxe's MSS. which passed into the possession of Mr. Strype, and were purchased from him by the British Museum. It only purports, of course, to be a copy from the original transcript, and there seems no reason to doubt its authenticity. The Latin contractions are not retained.

† So in the MS., and probably an error in copying. The writer has substituted "word," in the previous reference to this document, which is doubtless correct.

Premissis expeditis dominus assignavit eidem Johanni Rogers ad comparendum crastina die in hoc loco inter horam octavam et decimam ante meridiem ad videndum ulteriorem processum fieri, &c.

Quo die, viz. Martis xxix° die Januarii in loco predicto et coram dicto Reverendo patre Episcopo Wintoniense, assidente sibi coepiscopis in præscriptis hujus diei actis superius specificatis in nostra notariorum prædictorum presentia, rursus comparuit dictus Johannes Rogers alias Mathew, quem dominus Episcopus Wintoniensis per multa argumenta, rationes et hortamenta et suasiones ad recantationem incitavit. Quibus non obstantibus sed penitus spretis ipse Rogers pertinaci animo in sententia perversa perstitit. Et deinde dominus Episcopus contra eam ut obstinatum ac pertinacem hereticum procedens tulit sententiam diffinitivam condempnatoriam eumque seculari Curiæ tradidit et commisit dictis vicecomitibus Londoniensibus eum secum abducentibus. Super cujus sententiæ prolationem Idem Reverendus pater nos notarios subscriptos requisivit &c. Præsentibus tunc ibidem de quibus in actis hujus diei præscriptis continetur.

LETTERS FROM ARCHBISHOP CRANMER TO LORD CRUMWELL,

RESPECTING THE MATTHEW BIBLE.

[From the State Papers, Vol. I. Part 2. No. 94.]

My especiall good Lorde, after moost hartie comendations unto Your Lordeship. Theis shalbe to signifie unto the same, that you shall receyve, by the bringer herof, a Bible in Englishe, both of a new translacion, and of a newe prynte, dedicated unto the Kinges Majestie, as farther apperith by a pistle unto His Grace, in the begynnyng of the boke, which, in myn opinion, is very well done, and therfore I pray your Lordeship to rede the same. And as for the translation, so farre as I have redde therof, I like it better, than any other translacion hertofore made; yet not doubting but that ther may, and wilbe founde some fawtes therin, as you know no man ever did, or can do so well, but it may be, from tyme to tyme, amendid. And forasmoche as the boke is dedicated unto the Kinges Grace, and also greate paynes and labour taken in setting forth of the same, I pray you, my Lorde, that you woll exhibite the boke unto the Kinges Highnes; and to obteign of His Grace, if you can, a licence that the same may be sold, and redde of every person, withoute danger of any acte, proclamacion, or ordinaunce hertofore graunted to the contrary, untill such tyme that we, the Bisshops, shall setforth a better translacion, which I thinke will not be till a day after Domes day. And if you contynew to take suche paynes for the setting forth of Goddes Wourde, as you do, although in the meane season you suffre some snubbes, many sclandres, lyes, and reproches for the same, yet one day He will requite altogether; and the same Wourde (as Sainete John

saieth) "whiche shall judge every man at the last daye," must nedes shewe favour to theym, that now do favour it. Thus, my Lorde, right hartely faire you well. At Forde, the 4 day of Auguste [1527].

Your assured ever

T. CANTUARIEÑ.

(Addressed)
To the Right Honourable and my especiall good Lorde, my Lorde Pryvey Seale.

[FROM THE ORIGINAL.—COTTON MS. CLEOP. E. V., FOL. 348.]

My veray singuler good Lorde in my mooste hartie wise I comẽde me vnto your Lordeship And Where as I vnderstande that yo^{r} Lordeship at my requeste hath not only exhibited the Bible w^{ch} I sent vnto you, to the kinges maiestie, but also hath obteigned of his grace that the same shalbe alowed by his auctoritie to be bowghte and redde w^{t}in this realme, my lorde for this your payne taken in this behalf I giue vnto you my most hartie thankes, assuryng your lordeship for the cõtentacõn of my mynde, you haue shewed me more pleaso^{r} herin, than yf you hadd giuen me a thowsande pownde, and I doubt not, but that herby suche fruicte of good knowledge shall ensewe that it shall well appere herafter what high and acceptable ꝭuice you haue don vnto godde and the king, whiche shall somoche redown to your hono^{r} that, besides goddes rewarde, you shall opteyn ppetuall memorye for the same w^{t}in this Realme. And as for me, yo^{u} may recken me your bondeman for the same, and I dare be bold to say, so may ye do my lorde of wurcerter. Thus my lorde, right hartely faire you well. Att fforde the xiii day of Auguste [1537].

Yo^{r} own bowndman eũ

T. CANTUARIEÑ.

[From the Original.—Cotton MS. Cleop. E. V., Fol. 300.]

My very singuler and especiall good lorde in my most hartie wise I comend me to your lordeship. Theis shalbe to giue to you moste hartie thankes that any harte can thinke, and that in the name of theym all which favoreth goddes wourde, for your diligence at this tyme in procuring the kinges highnes to setforth the said goddes wourd and his gospell by his graces auctoritie: ffor the whiche acte not only the kinges maiestie, but also you shall haue a ꝑpetuall lawde and memorye of all theym that be now or hereafter shalbe goddes faithfull people and the favorers of his wourde. And this dede you shall here of at the greate daye, whan all thinges shalbe opened and made manifest: ffor our Savio^{r} Christ saieth in the said gospell, that who soeu̅ shrynketh from hym and his wourde, and is abasshed to professe and sett it forth before men in this worlde, he will refuse hym at that daye: And contrarye, who soeu̅ constantly doth ꝑfesse hym and his wourde, and studeth to sett that forwarde in this worlde, Christe will declare the same at the laste day bifore hys fath̅ and all his angells, and take apon hym the defence of those men. * * * * At ffurde the xxviii day of Auguste [1537].

Yo^{r} lordeshippes own eu̅,

T. Cantuarien̅.

LETTERS FROM RICHARD GRAFTON TO LORD CRUMWELL,

RESPECTING THE MATTHEW BIBLE.

[From the Original.—Cotton MS. Cleop. E. V., Fol. 349.]

Moost humbly besechynge yõ lordship to vnderstand that accõdynge to yõ request I haue sent yõ lordship vi bybles, which gladly I wolde haue brought my selfe, but because of the sycknes which remayneth in the cytie. And therfore I haue sent them by my ſũnt which this daye came out of fflaundyrs, requyrynge yõ lordship yf I maye be so bolde as to desyer you to accept them as my symple gyfte, geuen to you for those most godly paynes, for which the heuenly father is bounde euen of his Iustice to reward you wᵗ the eũlastynge kyngdom of god. ffor yõ lordship mouynge oũ moost gracyous prynce to the alowance and lycensynge of soche a worke, hath worought soche an acte worthy of prayse as neũ was mencyoned in any cronycle in this realme. And as my lorde of Cantorbury sayde, The tydynges therof dyd hym more good then the gyfte of ten thousand pounde.* Yet certen there are which beleue not that yt pleased the kynges grace to lycence yt to go forth. Wherfore yf yõ lordshippes pleasõ were soche that we myght haue yt lycensed vnder yõ preuy seale, yt shuld be a defence at this present and in tyme to come for all enemyes and adũsaryes of the same. And for as moche as this request is for the mayntenaunce of the lordes worde, which is to mayntaỹe the lorde him selfe, I feare not

* This was a strange exaggeration on the part of Grafton. By reference to Cranmer's letter (page 426), it will be seen that he limited the extent of his gratification to just one-tenth of that amount.

but that yõ lordship wilbe ernest therin. And I am assewred that my lorde of Cantõbury, Worsetter*, and Salsbury†, will geue yõ lordship soche thankes as in them lyeth. And sewre ye maye be that the heuenly lorde will rewarde you for the establysshynge of his gloryous truthe. And what youre lordshipes pleasõ is in this request, yf it maye please yõ lordship to enforme my ſũnt, I and all that loue god hartely are bounde to praye for yõ ꝑseruacyon all the dayes of õ lyfe.

* Hugh Latimer was then Bishop of Worcester, having been consecrated in 1535. He was born in humble life at Thurcaston, Leicestershire, about 1491, and was educated at Cambridge. On taking the degree of B.D., in 1524, he delivered an oration against Melancthon and his doctrines, being then a zealous Romanist. He was at first Rector of Westkinton, Wilts, but became chaplain to Anne Boleyn in 1634, and through her influence obtained his Bishopric. He was not a very learned man, but earnest and fearless, although sometimes coarse and even abusive in his language. He lost the favour of Henry VIII., in the latter part of his reign, who, after bearing with his grossness until his patience was exhausted, sent him to the Tower. He was released by Edward VI., but declined a restoration to his See, and continued to act as a general preacher. He appears to have been the leading spirit in the scandalous persecution of Joan of Kent, which fact probably somewhat tempered the compassion that would have otherwise attended his own subsequent fate. He met that fate bravely, however, suffering at Oxford, October 16th, 1555.—*Athen. Cantab., &c.*

† Nicholas Shaxton. He was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, April 11th, 1535, being then a dependant of Crumwell, and an avowed friend of the Reformed doctrines. In the Convocation of 1536, he supported Henry VIII. in his opposition to the Pope. Soon after, he became involved in a dispute with the Abbot of Reading, and lost Crumwell's friendship. Naturally warm and haughty, it is supposed that his resentment towards that Minister led him to extend his enmity to the King, whom, in 1538, he, with seven other Bishops, bitterly opposed. Again varying in temper, he resigned his See in 1539, on account of the Six Articles, and emulated the most zealous Reformers in their opposition to them; in consequence of which he suffered a long imprisonment. In 1546, he was accused of denying the Real Presence, tried, convicted, and condemned to be burned. His subsequent history is a melancholy one. He could not endure the prospect of the stake, but abjured his former faith in the most humiliating manner, and submitted to the most disgusting public exhibitions of his recantation. He was, of course, compelled to repudiate his wife; but, in doing so, added a gross insult to the injury he inflicted, by sending her a wretched farrago in verse, in which he sang, or rather croaked, the praises of continence. Having lost his own self-respect, he became himself one of the most cruel persecutors of his former fellows, and even preached in Smithfield at the burning of Anne Askew and others, taunting and upbraiding them for their obstinacy in the bitterest terms. He was subsequently made Suffragan to the Bishop of Ely, and died at Cambridge, August 4th, 1556, where he was buried, in the Chapel of Gonville Hall, of which he had been President.—*Strype; Grey Friars' Chronicle; Dodsworth's Salisbury Cathedral, &c.*

At london the xxviij daye of this present moneth of August 1537.

Yõ oratõ whyle he lyueth

RYCHARD GRAFTON groc.*

(Endorsed)
To the honorable lorde
pryvaye Seale.

[FROM THE ORIGINAL.—COTTON MS. CLEOP. E. V., FOL. 340.]

Moost humbly besechynge yõ lordship to vnderstand that accordynge as yõ comyssyon was by my s̃unt to sende you certen bybles, so haue I now done, desyrynge yõ lordship to accept them as though they were well done. And where as I wryt vnto yõ lordship for a preuye seale to be a defence vnto the enemyes of this byble, I vnderstande that yõ lordshipes mynde is that I shall not nede it. But now moost gracyous lorde, ffor as moche as this worke hath bene brought forthe to õ moost great & costly laboures & charges, which charges amount aboue the some of v C ℔.†, and I haue caused of these same to be prynted to the some of xv C bookes complete, which now by reason that of many this worke is highly cõmended, there are that will and dothe go about the pryntynge of the same worke agayne in a lesser letter, to the entent that they maye sell their lytle bookes better chepe then I can sell these gret, and so to make that I shall sell none at all, or elles verye fewe, to the vtter vndoynge of me yõ oratõ & of all those my credytõs that hath bene my comforters & helpers therin. And now this worke thus set forthe w^t^ great stodye & laboures shall soche psons (moued w^t^ a lytle couetousnes to the vndoyng of other for their awne pryuate welthe) take as a thynge done to their handes, in which halffe the charges shall not come to them

* This has reference to his being a member of the Grocers' Company. See Note, p. 44.

† Five hundred pounds.

that hath done to yõ poore oratõ. And yet shall they not do yt as they fynde yt, but falsefye the texte, that I dare saye, looke how many sentences are in the byble, euen so many fautes & erroures shalbe made therin. ffor their sekyng is not to set it out to goddes glorie & to the edefyenge of christes congregacyon (but for couetousnes) and that maye apere by the former bybles that they haue set forthe, which hath nether good pap, letter, ynke ner correccyon, &c. euyn so shall they corrupt this worke & wrapp ytvp after their fassyons, & then maye they sell yt for naught at their pleasõ. Ye and to make yt more trewer then yt is, therfore douchemen dwellynge w^th^in this realme go about the pryntynge of yt, w^ch^ can nether speke good englyshe, ner yet wryte none, and they wilbe bothe the prynters & correctõs therof, because of a lytle couetousnes that wyll not bestowe xx or xl ℔ to a learned man to take payne in yt to haue yt well done. It were therfore (as yõ lordship dothe euydently perceaue) a thynge vnreasonable to pmyt or soffer them (which now hath no soche busynes) to enter into the laboures of them that hath had bothe sore trouble & vnreasonable charges. And the truthe is this that if yt be prynted by any other before these be solde (which I thynke shall not be this iij yere at the least) that then am I yõ poore oratõ vtterly vndone. Therfore by yõ moost godly fauõ if I maye obtayne the kynges moost gracyous priuiledge that none shall prynt them tyll these be solde, which at the least shall not be this iij yere, yõ lordship shall not fynde me vnthankfull, but that to the vttermost of my power I wyll consyder yt, and I dare saye that so will my lorde of Cantõbury w^t^ other my moost speciall frendes. And at the least, god will loke vpon yõ m̃cifull heart that consydereth the vndoynge of a pore yonge man. ffor truly, my whole lyuynge lyeth hervpon, which if I maye haue sale of them, not beynge hyndered by any other man, yt shalbe my makyng and welthe, and the contrary is my vndoynge. Therfore most humbly I beseche yõ lordship to be my helper herin that I maye obtayne this my request. Or elles yf by no meanes this pryuyledge maye be had (as I haue no dout thorow yõ helpe yt shall) and seinge men are so de-

syrous to be pryntynge of yt agayne to my vtter vndoynge as aforsayde. That yet for as moche as it hath pleased the kynges highnes to lycence this worke to go abroade and that it is the moost pure worde of god which teacheth all true obedyence & reproueth all scismes & contencyons. And the lacke of this worde of the allmyghtie god is the cause of all blyndenes and supsticion, yt maye therfore be cõmaunded by yõ lordship in the name of õ most gracyous prynce that eũy curat haue one of them that they may learne to knowe god & to instrũt their parysshens. Ye and that eũy abbaye shuld haue vi to be layde in vi seũall places that the whole couent & the resorters thervnto maye haue occasyon to looke on the lordes lawe. Ye I wold none other but they of the papisticall sorte shuld be compelled to haue them, and then I knowe there shuld be ynow founde in my lorde of londons dyocesse to spende awaye a great part of them, and so shuld this be a godly acte worthy to be had in remembrance whyle the world doth stande, & I know that a small comyssyon wyll cause my lorde of Cantõbury Salsbury & worsetter to cause yt to be done thorow their dyocesse, ye and this shuld cease the whole scisme & contencyon that is in the realme, which is some callyng them of the olde & some of the new, now shuld we all folow one god, one boke & one learnynge, & this is hurtfull to no man but proffytable to all men. I will trouble yõ lordship no lenger for I am sory I haue troubled you so moche. But to make an ende I desyer yõ moost gracyous answer by my s̃unt, for the syckncs is bryme* about vs or elles wolde I wayt vpon yõ lordship, and because of comynge to yõ lordship, I haue not soffred my s̃unt w^t^ me sence he came oũ. Thus for yõ contynall p̃seruacyon I w^t^ all that truly loue god do most hartely praye that you maye oũcome all yõ adũsaryes of the papisticall sorte.

Yõ Oratõ

RYCHARD GRAFTON.

* Brime—prevalent, violent, furious, &c.—*Richardson.*

PROCLAMATION OF HENRY VIII.,

RESPECTING THE MATTHEW BIBLE.

[From the Copy in the Cotton MS. Cleop. E. V., Fol. 344.]

Where it hathe pleased the kinges maiestie oure most dradde souereigne lorde and supreme hed vnder god of this Churche of England for a declaratyon of the greate zeale he bereth to the setting furthe of goddes woorde and to the vertuouse maynteñnce of his cõmenwealthe to pmyt and cõmaunde the Bible being translated in to õ mother tongue to be syncerely taught and declared by vs the Curates, And to bee openly layed furthe in every parrisshe Churche, To thintent that all his good subiectes aswel by reading thereof as by hering the true explanacõn of the same may ffirst lerne their dieuties to allmightie god and his ma^te^ and euery of vs charitably to vse other And thenne applying themselfes to doo according to that they shall here and lerne, may bothe speke and doo Chrĩenly and in al thinges as it beseamethe Chrĩen men, Because his hieghnes very muche desireth that this thing being by him most godly begonne and sett forward maye of all yõ be receyued as is aforesaide His maiestie hathe willed and cõmaunded this to be declared vnto youe that his graces pleaſ and hiegh cõmaundemẽt is that in the reading and hering thereof, first most humbly and reuerently vsing and addressing yourselfes vnto it, you shall haue allwayes in yõ rememberaunce and memoryes that all thinges conteyned in this booke is the vndoubted wyll, lawe and cõmaundement of almightie god thonely and streight meane to knowe the goodnes and benefytes of god towardes vs and the true dieutye of euery chrĩen man to ſrue him accordingly, And that therefore reading this booke w^t^ suche mynde and firme feythe as is aforesaid, you shall first

endeuõ yourselfes to conforme your owne lyvinges and conuersacõn to the contentes of the same And so by your good and vertuouse exemple to encourage yõ wifes childern and ꝯuntes to lyve wel and chrĩenly according to the rule thereof. And if at any tyme by reading any doubt shall come to any of yõ touching the sense and meanyng of any pte thereof, That thenne not geving to moche to yõ owne myndes fantazies and opinions nor having thereof any open reasonyng in yõ open Tauernes or Alehowses, ye shall haue recourse to suche lerned men as be or shalbe auctorised to preache and declare the same, Soo that avoyding all contentions and disputacõns in suche Alehowses and other places vnmete for suche conferences and submytting your opinions to the Iudgmentes of suche lerned men as shalbe appoynted in this behaulf, his grace may wel pceyue that yõ vse this most hiegh benefyte quietly and charitably eũy of yõ to the edefying of himself his wief and famylye in al thinges aunswering to his hieghnes good opinion conceyued of yõ in thadvauncemẽt of ꝯtue and suppressing of vice w'out failing to vse suche discrete quietnes and sober moderatyon in the premisses as is aforesaid as ye tender his graces pleaꝰ and entend to avoyd his hiegh indignacõn and the pill and daunger that may ensue to yõ and eũy of youe fr̃ the contrary.

And god saue the King.

BISHOP RIDLEY'S LETTERS CONCERNING ROGERS' PREFERMENTS.

BISHOP RIDLEY TO SIR JOHN CHEKE.*

Master Cheke, I wish you grace and peace. Sir, in God's cause, for God's sake, and in His name, I beseech you of help and furtherance towards God's word. I did talk with you of late, what case I was in concerning my chaplains. I have gotten the good wil, and grant to be with me, of three preachers, men of good learning, and, as I am persuaded, of excellent vertue, which are able both with life and learning to set forth God's word in London, and in the whole dioces of the same; where is most need of al parts in England. For from thence goeth example, as you know, into all the rest of the King's Majesty's whole realm. The men's names be these, Mr. Grindal, whom you know to be a man of vertue and learning: Mr. Bradford, a man by whom (as I am assuredly informed) God hath and doth work wonders, in setting forth of his word: the third is a preacher, the which for detecting and confuting of the Anabaptists and Papists, both by his preaching and by his writing, is enforced now to bear Christ's cros. The two first be scholars in the University; the third is as poor as either of the other twain.

Now there is fallen a prebend in Paul's, called *Cantrelles*†, by the death of one Layton. This prebend is an honest

* This letter is copied from Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, Vol. 3, Part 2, p. 264, &c. He gives his authority in a marginal note thus: "Martyrs' Letters"—but does not inform us where the original is to be found. The editor of Ridley's works, published by the Parker Society, quotes it from Burnet, in whose volumes the writer has failed to discover it. Glocester Ridley, in his Life of the Bishop, repeats the letter, but gives no authority whatever.

† Sometimes called Cantlers, or Kentish-Town.

man's living of xxxiiii *l.* and better, in the King's books. But alas! Sir, I am letted by the means, I fear me, of such as do not fear God. One Mr. William Thomas, one of the clarks of the Council, hath in times past set the Council upon me, to have me grant, that Layton might have alienated the said prebend unto him and his heirs forever. God was mine aid and defender, that I did not consent unto his ungodly enterprise. Yet I was then so handled afore the Council, that I graunted, that whensoever it should fal, I should not give it, before I should make the King's Majesty privy to it, and of acknowledge*, before the collation of it. Now Layton is departed, and the prebend is fallen, and certain of the Council, no doubt by this ungodly man's means, have written unto me to stay the collation. And wheras he despaireth that ever I would assent, that a teacher's living should be bestowed on him, he hath procured letters unto me, subscribed with certain of the counsellors hands, that now the King's Majesty hath determined it unto the furniture of his Highnes stables.†

Alas! Sir, this is a heavy hearing. When papistry was taught, there was nothing too little for the teachers. When the Bishop gave his benefices unto ideots, unlearned, ungodly, for kindred, for pleasure, for service, and other worldly respects, al was then wel allowed. Now where a poor living is to be given unto an excellent clark, a man known and tryed to have both discretion and also vertue, and such

* If Ridley was not responsible for this expression, Strype must be, or possibly his or some subsequent proof reader. It so stands in the copy which is quoted. If the two letters here given are fair specimens of the Bishop's style, he was certainly, to say the least, a very careless writer, in spite of the allegation that he was the most elegant scholar of his time.

† This man Thomas, being afterwards implicated in the Wyat conspiracy, was executed at Tyburn, May 18th, 1554. From Ridley's account of him, he would appear to have been one of the class hitherto described as the curse of Edward's Government — a class seeking their personal aggrandisement at the expense of the Church, and which, not satisfied with spoiling their religious opponents, must needs lay violent hands upon the appropriate livings of their own clergymen, and establish among the laity a traffic in the offices of the old Cathedral itself. We cannot wonder at the indignation of the good Bishop, especially when he learned that the price thus to be paid for his Prebend was to be devoted to the furnishing of the royal stables.

an one, as before God I do not know a man, yet unplaced and unprovided for, more meet to set forth God's word in all England; when a poor living, I say, which is founded for a preacher, is to be given unto such a man, that then an ungodly person shal procure in this sort letters to stop and let the same. Alas! Mr. Cheke, this seemeth unto me to be a right heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of the gospel? Speak, Mr. Cheke, speke for God's sake, in God's cause, unto whomsoever you think you may do good withal. And if you will not speak, then I beseech you let these my letters speak unto Mr. Gates, to Mr. Wrothe*, to Mr. Cecil, whom all I do take for men that do fear God.

It was said here constantly, my Lord Chamberlain† to have been departed. Sir, though the day be delayed, yet he hath no pardon of long life. And therefore I do beseech his good Lordship, and so many as shall read these letters, if they fear God, to help, that neither horse, neither yet dog, be suffered to devour the poor livings, appointed and founded by godly ordinance to the ministers of God's word. The causes of conscience, which do move me to speak and write thus, are not only those which I declared once in the case of this prebend before the King's Majesty's Council, which now I let pas; but also now the man, Mr. Grindal, unto whom I would give this prebend, doth move me very much. For he is a man known to be both of vertue, honesty, discretion, wisdom, and learning. And besides al this, I have a better opinion of the King's Majestyes Council, than, (although some of them have subscribed at this their clark's

* Sir Thomas Wroth, one of the Principal Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. He was knighted at the coronation of Edward VI., with whom he was a great favourite. He went abroad during the reign of Queen Mary, settling at Frankfort, where he rendered great assistance to the religious exiles. He returned soon after the accession of Elizabeth, and lived in great favour with her for many years. He was born at Enfield about 1519, and died about 1573.

† Henry Fitzallan, Earl of Arundel, who succeeded to the Earldom in 1544. He took an active part against the Protector Somerset, but subsequently fell into disfavour with his successor. He appears to have been always a Papist. He was a member of Mary's Privy Council, and was also retained in that of Elizabeth until his death, which occurred in 1580.

crafty and ungodly suit to such a letter,) than I say they wil let and not suffer, after request made unto them, the living appointed and founded for a preacher, to be bestowed upon so honest and wel learned a man.

Wherfore, for God's sake, I beseech you al, help, that with the favour of the Council, I may have knowledg of the King's Majesty's good pleasure, to give this preacher's lyving unto Mr. Grindal. Of late there have been letters directed from the King's Majesty and his honourable Council unto all the bishops, wherby we be charged and commanded, both in our own persons, and also to cause our preachers and ministers, especially to cry out against the insatiable serpent of covetousnes; whereby is said to be such a greedines among the people, that each one goeth about to devour other, and to threaten them with God's grievous plagues, both now presently thrown upon them, and that shal be likewise in the world to come. Sir, what preachers shal I get to open and set forth such matters, and so as the King's Majesty and the Council do command them to be set forth, if either ungodly men or unreasonable beasts be suffered to pul away and devour the good and godly learned preachers livings? Thus I wish you in God ever wel to fare, and to help Christ's cause, as you would have help of him at your most need. From Fulham, this present the 23 July, 1551.

Yours in Christ,

NICOLAS LONDON.

BISHOP RIDLEY TO SIR JOHN GATE AND SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[FROM THE ORIGINAL.—LANSDOWNE MS. 2., FOL. 220.]

Righte honorable, Although, if I woulde beleue eũie fule, I mighte feare rather that ye are offended wth me, then to thinke to obteigne any pleasure at your handes, and so to be

more afraied of your displeasure, then to hope to spede my requeste, Yet *neu̅theles, because** my conscience doth beare me wittenes, *that neither in harte, nor in dede, I haue geauen, or minded to geaue either of* your M^r^shippes, *iuste occasion to be offended w^th^ me*, nor, (God willing) neu̅ entende to doo: therefore, I will, by your leaue, be bolde w^th^ you, in godes cause, eu̅e̅ to requier you, as I haue heretofore bene wonte to doo: for I take this for a trewe saiying: *frons tenera magna conscientia sustinetur.* Yt maie please you to wete, that I vnderstande, by the constaunte rumor w^ch^ is now spredde abrode in *London*, that M^r^ *Grindall* is, or shalbe named to be a Busshoppe in the Northe pties, of whose p̄fermente, I ensuer you, I geaue god, hartie thankes, that it hath pleased god, to moue the harte of the kinges Ma^tie^, to choose suche a man, of suche godlie qualities, vnto suche a Rowme. Now good M^r^ *Vicechamberlaine*, and M^r^ *Secretarie*, ye knowe both how I dyd bestowe of late, thre or ffower prebendes, w^ch^ dyd fall in my time, and what ma̅ of men they be, vnto whom I gaue them, *Grindall*, *Bradford*, and *Rogers*, men knowen to be so necessarie to be abrode in the cōmon wealthe, that I can kepe none of them w^th^ me in my howse. Ye knowe, I am placed, where I *haue dailie nede of Learned mennes Counsaill and conference:* Wherefor I beseache you for *godes sake, be so good vnto this Sea of London*, w^ch^ is the *Spectacle of all Englande*, as to be petitiō̅s for me in god his cause, vnto the Kinges Ma^tie^, that seing his Highnes dothe perceaue, that I dyd *so well bestowe* the Prebende, whiche M^r^ *Grindall* hath of my collac̄on, it maie please the same to graūte me of his gracious clemencie, the collac̄on of the same againe, that I maie therewith calle some other like Learned Man, whom, hereafter by godes grace, his Highnes shall thinke mete, likewise, to promote, as M^r^ *Grindall* is now. If ye would knowe, vnto whom I woulde this dignitie of ō̅r Churche called the Chauntershippe, shoulde be geauen, suerlie, vnto any one of theis, either *vnto M^r^ Bradford, (whom in my conscience, I iudge more woourthie to be a Busshoppe, then many of vs that be busshoppes, alreadie, to be a parrisshe preiste,)* or vnto *M^r^ Sampson* a preacher, or vnto

* All the italicised passages are so distinguished in the original.

M^r *Harvye, a Diuine and* p̃*char*, or vnto *M^r Grimolde, a* p̃*char*, or *vnto Doctor Lancelot Ridley*, a p̃char: if it would please your goodnes to be Suters for me, nay, not *for me*, but for godes woourdes sake, vnto the kinges Ma^tie, that the collacõn maie be geaven vnto me for one of theis, or any one of theis, then I shall suerlie praise God in you, and thinke my self eũ bownde to render vnto allmightie God for you, entere and hartie thankes. Thus I wisshe you both, in god, eũ well to ffare: ffrom my howse in *London* this xviij^th daie of Nouembre, 1552.

yours in Christ

NIC. LONDON.

(Addressed)
To the righte honorable, and his entierlie welbeloued, S^r Jhon Gate kniughte Vicechaumberlaine, and s^r Willm̃ Cecyll knighte Secretarie vnto the Kinges Maiestie.*

* The following endorsement, evidently contemporaneous, is on the back of this letter, and was probably written by one of the persons to whom it was addressed, viz.

"November 1552.—The B. of London to S^r John Gate and S^r W. Cecill.—Learned Preachers: M^r. Bradford, M^r. Rogers, M^r. Grindall, M^r. Grimald, M^r. Sampson, M^r. Harvey, M^r. Ridley. To succeed in y^e Chauntership of *Pauls*, to bee voyd by M^r. Grindals going to bee B^p. in y^e North."

Lines appear to have been subsequently drawn across this entry, probably when it was determined not to make the change contemplated.

[AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT]

For makeng Denisons of the Wyfe and children of Ed. Allen J. Rogers J Madwell & James Bylney.* (4 and 5 E. 6. No. 33.)

EDWARD.

To the Kinge our Souveringe Lorde

In their most humble wyse shewth unto your most excellent maiestie your gracs humble suppliants and oratours Mr Edmonde Allen John Rogers John Madwell and James Bylney Clerks That where your graces said oratours and supplyants being in the parties of beyonde the Sea at their studies did there severally mary and take to their wyves aswell certen women borne in the parties of beyonde the sea as also on this side the Sea and have hadde by them in lawfull matrymony dyvers children yet lyvinge whiche intende by Gods grace to be your Maties faithfull and obedyent subjects — It may therefore at the humble petycon of your gracs said suppliants be enacted and established by your hignes wh the assente of the lordes and cōmons in this presente Parliamente assembled and by the auctorytie of the same that all and every of the children of your gracs said supplyants borne out of the Realme and their severall wyves shalbe from thensfourth reputed and taken as the Kings naturall subjects

* Of the subsequent history of Bylney, the writer has discovered nothing, nor anything concerning Madwell, except that he fled again beyond sea, early in the reign of Queen Mary. Allen, or Allein, did the same, but appears to have returned again to England, soon after the accession of Elizabeth. Strype speaks of him as "an eminent Protestant Divine," who translated Leo Jude's Exposition of the Revelation. He was Bishop of Rochester elect at the time of his death, which occurred probably in August 1559, as he was buried on the 30th of that month in the Church of St. Thomas Apostle, London. He had a wife and eight children.

as lawfull parsons borne wth^{n} this realme of Englande and such parsons to all intents constructions and purposes as if they and every of them had been borne w^{t}in this realme of Englande and also shall and may from hensfourth by the said aucthorytie be enhabled and adjudged hable to all intents constructions and purposes aswell to demande challenge and enjoye landes teñts and heredetaments as heire or heires to any of his or theire ancestours by reasone of any discent right or tytle whiche after the first day of the session of this Parliamente shall descende accrue come or grow unto them or any of them and to have and enjoye lands tenements and hereditaments by way of purchase or guyfte of any parson or parsons and also to prosecute and defende almaner of actions and suites and all other lawfull things whatsoever to do as lyberally franklye lawfully suerly and frely as if they and every of them had bene naturall borne within this Realme of Englande and as any other parsone or parsons naturally borne w^{t}in this realme of Englande may lawfully doe th̄rin any statute custome ordinance or otherthinge whatsoever had made done ordeyned proclaymed and provyded to the contrary hereof in anywyse notwithstanding.*

* The foregoing appears to be a mere copy of the Petition, but is in the form in which Acts of this nature were at that time perfected. The Petition, or, rather, an engrossed copy of it, being read, and its prayers granted, it received a simple clerical endorsement in each House of Parliament, and was thus presented for the royal signature, which completed its validity. This and similar private Acts, not being deemed of public interest, do not appear in the published lists of those times, and were not printed with the Statutes at large, so that it is by no means a common thing, after the vicissitudes and accidents of three centuries, to be able to hold in one's hand a document of so much importance to the parties immediately concerned at the time of its execution.

OCCASIONAL VERSES RELATING TO ROGERS.

[From Bishop Bale's "Scriptorvm Illustriū maioris Brytanniæ," Basle, 1557, at the end of a biographical notice of the Martyr.]

"Sic miris humana modis attollere corda
Scit Deus, illa que at tali dulce dine mentes,
Ut tormenta nihil quamuis durissima, pendant.
Hoc est quod potant inter convivia divi
Nectar, hic ambrosiæ suavis liquor ille, beatas
Qui reddit gustando animas. Hæc illa voluptas,
Sancta, voluptates vetitas quæ funditus haurit."

[From Caspar Cunradus' "Prosopographiæ Melicæ," Frankfort, 1615.]

"Iohan. Rogerivs Anglus Theol. Professor Londini.

Pro Christo pugnans constante Rogerivs ore:
Martyr habet fidei præmia dira rogum.

Martyrii coronam tulit 4. Febr. A. 1557 [5]."

[From the original edition of a Poem by John Taylor, the Water Poet, in the "Book of Martyrs," London, 1639.]

"No sooner *Edward* was laid in his tombe,
But *England* was the slaughter-house of *Rome:*
Gardner and *Bonner* were from prison turned,
And whom they pleas'd were either sav'd or burn'd:
Queene *Mary,* imitating *Jezebel,*
Advanc'd againe the Ministers of Hell:
Then tyranny began to tyrannize—
Tortures and torments then they did devise:
Then Master Rogers, with a faith most fervent,
Was burn'd, and di'd (in Smithfield) Gods true servant."

[From Fuller's "Abel Redevivus," London, 1651. The lines are at the end of a brief sketch of the Martyr, based upon Foxe's account, and are attributed to the elder or younger Quarles. The first couplet indicates that the writer adopted Fuller's erroneous notion that Rogers fled from England to escape persecution.]

"Though this grave Father was enfor'd to flye
His envious Countrey for security,
Yet his undaunted courage would not move,
That alwayes stood (as Sentinell) to love.
'Twas not a prison could affection swage;
He, like a Bird sung sweetest in a cage.
When first the Bible, with great paines and care,
He into English did translate so far,
That knowing men did admire the same;
And justly did extoll his lasting fame.
Who did contemne the fury of all those,
Who both to us and him were mortall foes."

[From "The History of the Lives of those famous English Divines that were most zealous in promoting the Reformation," by R. B. (i. e. Nath. Crouch, a famous bookseller), London, 1709. He gives a rough wood-cut of the burning of Rogers, and a sketch of his life, prefaced by these verses. The seventh and eighth lines show that he had read Quarles.]

"When good King *Eduard* dyed, and Popery,
With Superstition and Idolatry,
Return'd again to plague this wretched Nation,
And take away the right means of Salvation;
Then *Rogers*, by the Rage of *Rome* and *Hell*,
A Sacrifice to true Religion fell.
He did contemn the Fury of all those,
Who to the Word of God were mortal Foes;
And was the First in bloody *Mary's* Reign
Who lost his Life, 'cause he did Truth maintain."

[The following lines were written, in 1832, by the late Dr. Mant, Bishop of Down and Connor. On presenting a clergyman (claiming to be a descendant of the Martyr) with a living, in 1846, the good Bishop enclosed a copy of them in his letter announcing the preferment. They were published in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for December, 1849.]

"THE CHURCH'S PROTO-MARTYR, 1555.

If life preserved for wife and children's sake,—
If bliss which none but husbands, fathers, feel,—
If worldly woe escaped, and worldly weal
Enjoyed, lands, houses, goods, with all to take
Captive the waverer, — had had power to shake
Thy firm resolve, and quench thy fervent zeal,—
ROGERS, the Church had lost her earliest seal,
Stamped in thy heart's blood on the burning stake.
But nobler thought was thine, and loftier scope,
The Tempter's vile allurements to withstand
Victorious: thine the Christian's deathless hope,
The Christian's faith: and thus thy native land
Salutes in thee her harvest's firstling crop —
In thee the STEPHEN of her martyred band."

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